

Nineteenth National Convention

Socialist Labor Party

April 25—April 28, 1936

Minutes, Reports, Platform, Resolutions, Etc.



National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party
61 Cliff Street
New York, N.Y.

**Proceedings of the
Nineteenth National Convention
Socialist Labor Party**

April 25-April 28, 1936

This important volume contains the minutes of the convention, reports made to the convention, including the report of the National Executive Committee on the state of organization, etc. Included also are the platform of the Party, and resolutions, letters of acceptance of the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates; radio addresses by the candidate for President; the vote, and comments on the vote, and the obstructions placed in the way of the Party to secure a place on the ballot in certain important states; several articles by the National Secretary of the Party on the issues and candidates, and on the results of the election, and the probable future developments; etc., etc.

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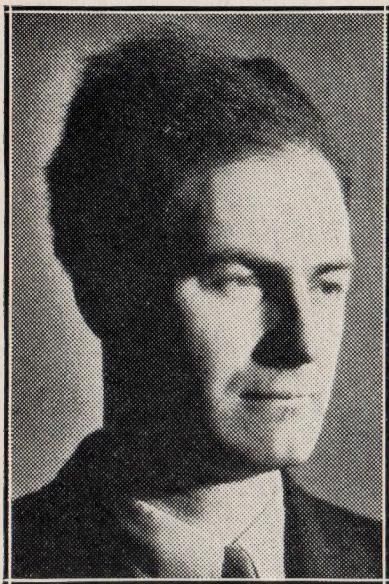
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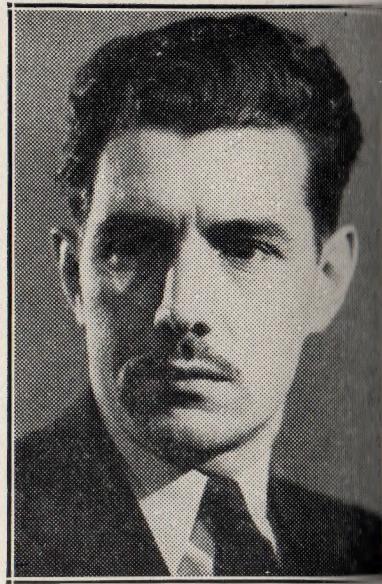


J. W. AIKEN

*Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for President, 1936*

"Socialist Industrial Unionism recognizes the capitalist class as a robber class, a class whose advancement is in direct proportion to the impoverishment of the workers. The working class must demand the unconditional surrender of the ruling class, press for it on the political field and organize on the economic field into Industrial Unions, to take and hold and operate the means of production and distribution."

—J. W. Aiken.



EMIL F. TEICHERT

*Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for Vice President, 1936*

"The question is whether the working class of the world will be stronger or weaker than 'a "Holy Alliance" of capitalist interests.' The working class will be invincible if it organizes on a proper revolutionary basis on the political, as well as on the industrial field for the two-fold purpose of capturing and abolishing the Political State and taking full possession and control of the industries of the nation."

—E. F. Teichert.



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Socialist Labor Party
61 Cliff Street
New York, N.Y.

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THE NINETEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION of the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention

Morning Session, Saturday, April 25

Convention called to order at 11 a.m. by National Secretary Arnold Petersen, at the Cornish Arms Hotel, New York City, with the following brief speech:

"As this convention begins its labors the world of capitalism is in absolute chaos. Never before was what we call civilization nearer the brink of collapse than at this moment. The fate of countless millions hangs in the balance. The S.L.P. is the only organization which presents a program to meet the situation and to prevent a social catastrophe. Without a single exception every other party or group presents some sort of a scheme for patching up the system; for remedying this particular defect, or for replacing that rotting or decaying part. Reforms of one sort or another are offered by these groups, designed to make it possible for the workers to exist a little longer under the capitalist system. The Socialist Labor Party is the only party today which definitely and unequivocally says that capitalism cannot be mended; that the cursed thing *must* be ended. And we say exactly what we mean,

and we mean exactly what we say. We declare that there is no force in the world today which can end the present chaos, and lift society out of the morass into which it has sunk except the industrially organized working class: It is the task and the solemn duty of the Socialist Labor Party to arouse and instruct the workers to the end that they organize in keeping with, and to fulfill their historic mission as a class.

"It is with these thoughts before us, with a full sense of the responsibility resting on us at this historic moment, that, in the name of the National Executive Committee of the Party, I formally open the 19th National Convention of the S.L.P."

F. E. Passonno, of New York, elected temporary chairman.

Wm. Woodhouse, of Ohio, elected temporary vice chairman.

Ward Beckwith, District of Columbia, elected temporary recording secretary.

A Credentials Committee was elected as follows: F. C. Zermann, Hungarian Federation, Emil F. Teichert, New York, Theo. Baeff, Bulgarian Federation.

A recess of ten minutes was de-

clared to permit the Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of the delegates and report.

The Credentials Committee reported that the following States and Federations are entitled to representation at the 19th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, and credentials from the following delegates reported received:

California, entitled to three, sending two: A. Schneider, I. Shenkan.

Colorado, one delegate, P. Nicholove.

Connecticut, two delegates, J. C. Borden, Jr., H. Simon.

District of Columbia, one delegate, Ward Beckwith.

Illinois, three delegates, S. French, W. R. Knudsen, J. E. Procum.

Indiana, one delegate, H. G. Wise.

Kentucky, one delegate, J. Fischer.

Maryland, one delegate, F. N. H.

Lang.

Massachusetts, two delegates, J. W. Aiken, J. P. Quinn.

Michigan, two delegates, A. Tueling, J. Vonica.

Minnesota, one delegate, W. Foy.

Missouri, one delegate, W. W. Cox.

New Jersey, one delegate, G. Bopp.

New York, five delegates, O. M. Johnson, A. M. Orange, F. E. Passonno, S. Smiley, E. F. Teichert.

Ohio, four delegates, L. Gillespie, J. W. Morris, Mrs. A. K. Stork, W. Woodhouse.

Oregon, one delegate, M. Johnson.

Pennsylvania, two delegates, J. A. Pirincin, E. A. Teichert.

Rhode Island, one delegate, C. F. Bishop.

Virginia, one delegate, L. Jereme.

Washington, entitled to two delegates, one present: R. Ottem.

Wisconsin, one delegate, J. Ehrhardt.

Bulgarian S.L.F., entitled to seven delegates, sending six: D. Anastasoff, Theo. Baeff, D. Draganoff, T. Gramaticoff, D. Pancoff, S. S. Saraliev.

Hungarian S.L.F., two delegates, A. Kudlik, F.C. Zermann.

South Slavonian S.L.F., five delegates, P. Bogdan, M. Malencich, L. Petrovich, P. Slepcevic, I. Stefanovich.

The committee recommended that the foregoing forty-eight delegates to the convention be seated. On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Committee on Rules was elected as follows: J. W. Aiken, Massachusetts, W. W. Cox, Missouri, J. Ehrhardt, Wisconsin.

After a short recess the Committee on Rules recommended for adoption the following Order of Business and Rules:

Temporary Organization.

1. Election of Temporary Chairman.
2. Election of Temporary Vice Chairman.
3. Election of Temporary Recording Secretary.
4. Election of Committee on Credentials. (3)
5. Recess of ten minutes.
6. Report of Committee on Credentials.
7. Election of Committee on Rules.
8. Recess of twenty minutes.
9. Report of Committee on Rules.

A.

1. Organization.
 - (a) Election of Chairman.

Vice Chairman and Secretary.

(b) Election of a permanent Sergeant-at-Arms and a Messenger.

Election of Committee on Mileage.

Report of the National Executive Committee.

Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Election of Committee on Constitution and Resolutions pertaining thereto.

Election of Committee on Platform and Resolutions pertaining thereto.

Election of Committee on Attitude of the Party toward Economic Organization and Resolutions pertaining thereto.

Election of Auditing Committee.

Election of Committee on Party Press and Literature.

International Socialist Movement.

National Campaign.

Roll call of delegates for the introduction of resolutions for reference to committees.

B.

The following Order of Business for each day after the first day:

1. Election of Chairman.
2. Roll Call of Delegates.
3. Reading of Minutes.
4. Communications.
5. Reports of Committees and Action Thereon.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.
8. Last half hour of each afternoon session to be devoted to the receiving of resolutions to

be read and referred to the appropriate committees.

9. Morning sessions from 10 a.m. to 12 m. Afternoon sessions from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. Evening session if necessary.

C.

1. Nomination of Candidates for United States President and Vice President second day of the convention.
2. Election of Committee on Vacancies, following nominations for President and Vice President.
3. Election of National Secretary, second day of the convention.
4. Election of Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, second day of the convention.
5. Report of Committee on Platform, second day of the convention, immediately following election of officers.
6. Report of delegates, last day of the convention.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On motion the temporary chairman and temporary vice chairman were made permanent for the day.

On motion the temporary recording secretary was elected permanent recording secretary for the duration of the convention.

Sophie Blumenstock was elected assistant recording secretary for the duration of the convention.

Reggie Koegler was appointed sergeant-at-arms and messenger.

A Committee on Mileage was elected as follows: F. C. Zermann, Hungarian S.L.F., Theo. Baeff, Bulgarian S.L.F.

On motion the convention ad-

journed at 11.40 a.m. to reconvene for the afternoon session at 1 p.m.

*Afternoon Session, Saturday,
April 25*

The convention was called to order by Chairman Passonno at 1.05 p.m. At roll call all delegates were present.

The minutes of the morning session were read and adopted as read.

Two telegrams sending fraternal greetings were received and read from Sections Hamilton County, O., and Waukegan, Ill.

The National Secretary began the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee to the 19th National Convention.

Motion made and carried that the reading of the proposed revisions in the Party's Constitution (incorporated in the report) be deferred to be heard under the report of the Committee on Constitution.

On ruling by the chair, reading of the reports of the Language Federations was laid over to Report of Delegates.

At 3.10 p.m., a recess of ten minutes was declared, and on reconvening, the National Secretary resumed the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee.

On suggestion of National Secretary, reading of correspondence re Santens expulsion notice in the WEEKLY PEOPLE was deferred, to be taken up, if desired, under the report of the Committee on Constitution.

On motion the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee was interrupted to hear the report of the Committee on Mileage.

The Mileage Committee reported a total mileage of \$1,979.04 and recommended that this sum be paid. On motion the recommendation of the Mileage Committee was concurred in.

Motion to adjourn was made at 5.30 p.m., to reconvene Sunday morning, April 26, at 10 a.m. (Daylight Saving Time.)

Morning Session, Sunday, April 26

Convention was called to order at 10.30 a.m. by Chairman F. E. Passonno. F. E. Passonno, of New York, was elected chairman for the day.

Roll call showed the following delegates absent: P. Nicholove, Colorado; J. C. Borden, Jr., Connecticut; P. Bogdan and M. Malenich, South Slavonian S.L.F. These delegates reported late.

Minutes of the afternoon session, April 25, were read and adopted as read.

Two telegrams of fraternal greetings were received and read from Section Steubenville, Ohio, and the Canadian Executive Committee. A letter was received from Section Baltimore, through F. G. Bennick, announcing the establishment of a secretarial office in the Cornish Arms Hotel for the use and convenience of committees.

The National Secretary resumed the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee.

Motion made and carried at 1 p.m. to suspend the rules to permit the National Secretary to conclude the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee.

The National Secretary resumed

and concluded the reading of the report.

On motion the report of the National Executive Committee was accepted and the parts requiring action turned over to the proper committees.

A collection was then taken for the Campaign Fund amounting to \$1140, which included a donation from Section New Haven, Conn., of \$17.00, and \$25 from Comrade N. Guberman, Allentown, Pa.

The National Secretary requested and received the permission to insert in the printed report of the National Executive Committee a note referring to the passing of our late Comrade August Gillhaus.

Convention adjourned at 1 p.m. to reconvene at 2 p.m.

Afternoon Session, Sunday, April 26

Convention called to order at 2.15 p.m. by Chairman F. E. Passonno.

All delegates present on roll call except L. Gillespie, of Ohio, who was excused because of illness.

Minutes of the morning session, April 26, were read and adopted as read.

On motion W. Woodhouse, of Ohio, was elected vice chairman for the balance of the day.

On motion a photographer was given permission to take a picture of the convention at the close of today's session.

Olive M. Johnson read her report as Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

On motion the report of the Editor was received and referred to the proper committees.

Two telegrams of greetings were received and read from the South

Slavonian Branch Cleveland, O., and Comrade Mehmet Burlakis, Section Steubenville, O.

On motion the convention proceeded to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

On motion by J. P. Quinn, Massachusetts, seconded by S. Smiley, New York, John W. Aiken of Massachusetts was unanimously nominated by the convention as the candidate for President.

On motion by Olive M. Johnson of New York, seconded by T. Gramaticoff, Bulgarian S. L. F., Emil F. Teichert of New York was unanimously nominated as the candidate for Vice President.

Short addresses of acceptance were made by the candidates.

On motion by S. Smiley, seconded by J. C. Borden, Jr., the N.E.C. Sub-Committee was elected to serve as the committee on vacancies.

On motion by S. Smiley, seconded by M. Johnson, Arnold Petersen was unanimously reelected National Secretary.

On motion by L. Jereme, seconded by E. F. Teichert, Olive M. Johnson was unanimously reelected Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto was elected as follows: J. P. Quinn, Massachusetts; W. Woodhouse, Ohio; J. C. Borden, Jr., Connecticut.

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto was elected as follows: F. N. H. Lang, Maryland; Olive M. Johnson, New York; S. Smiley, New York.

Committee on Attitude of the Party Toward Economic Organization and Resolutions Pertaining

Thereto was elected as follows: M. Johnson, Oregon; W. Beckwith, District of Columbia; Theo. Gramaticoff, Bulgarian S.L.F.

Auditing Committee was elected as follows: F. C. Zermann, Hungarian S.L.F.; Theo. Baeff, Bulgarian S.L.F.

Committee on Party Press and Literature was elected as follows: J. W. Aiken, Massachusetts; A. Kudlik, Hungarian S.L.F.; J. Ehrhardt, Wisconsin.

Committee on International Socialist Movement was elected as follows: L. Petrovich, South Slavonian S.L.F.; G. Bopp, New Jersey; I. Shenkan, California.

Committee on National Campaign was elected as follows: J. W. Morris, Ohio; A. M. Orange, New York; E. A. Teichert, Pennsylvania.

On motion a Committee on Radio was elected as follows: H. Simon, Connecticut; Mrs. A. K. Stork, Ohio; E. F. Teichert, New York.

On motion a Committee on General Party Agitation was elected as follows: W. W. Cox, Missouri; W. R. Knudsen, Illinois; S. French, Illinois.

On roll call resolutions were introduced and referred to committees as follows:

From H. Simon, Connecticut, re N.E.C. Sub-Committee minutes published in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, referred to Committee on General Party Agitation.

From Section Wayne County, Mich., re Field and Headquarters Notes, referred to Committee on Party Press and Literature.

From Section Wayne County, Mich., re organization of local Socialist Industrial Unions, referred to

Committee on Economic Organization.

From the New Jersey S.E.C., re non-attendance at Section business meetings, referred to Committee on Constitution.

From the Ohio S.E.C., re by-laws governing Weekly People Clubs, referred to Committee on General Party Agitation.

From Section Montreal, Que., Canada, re publication of Party literature in French, referred to Committee on Party Press and Literature.

Convention adjourned at 4.30 p.m. to reconvene Monday, April 27, at 10 a.m.

Morning Session, Monday, April 27.

Convention called to order at 10.15 a.m. by F. E. Passonno. On motion F. E. Passonno was elected chairman for the day. Alfred Schneider, California, was elected vice chairman for the day.

On roll call the following delegates were absent: J. C. Borden, Jr., Connecticut (on committee), J. P. Quinn, Massachusetts (on committee), J. Vonica, Michigan, O. M. Johnson and A. M. Orange, New York. With the exception of A. M. Orange, all absent delegates reported immediately following the calling of the roll.

The minutes of the afternoon session, Sunday, April 26, were read and adopted as read.

A telegram of fraternal greetings from Bulgarian Group Zora, Detroit, Mich., was received and read.

The Credentials Committee reported having received the credentials of Paul Herzl, New York, alternate delegate to replace A. M.

Orange, and recommended that he be seated as a delegate. Motion to concur carried.

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto: J. C. Borden, Jr., Connecticut, reporting, rendered a partial report, recommending adoption with minor revisions of the proposed constitutional changes contained in the report of the National Executive Committee dealing with Article I, Section 1; Article II, Section 1, Section 5, clauses a and b. On motion these recommendations of the committee were concurred in.

On motion the committee's recommendation on Article II, Section 5, clause c, was recommitted for redrafting.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolutions submitted by the following: New Jersey S.E.C. and Section South Norwalk, Conn., re non-attendance at Section business meetings; R. Ottem, Washington, on Article II, Section 13, re notification of delinquent members. On motion the recommendations of the committee were concurred in.

The committee recommended that the National Secretary be empowered to draw up an index to be appended to the constitution subsequent to adoption of changes by referendum vote. On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that the National Secretary be empowered to rearrange where necessary the numbering and lettering of the various articles, sections and clauses of the constitution in order to perfect the sequence.

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto, F.N.H. Lang, Maryland, reporting:

On motion the Platform was read in its entirety. On motion the Platform was placed before the convention for action on each paragraph *seriatim*. On motion paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 were adopted as corrected; paragraph 4 as read; paragraph 5 as corrected; paragraphs 6 and 7 as read; paragraph 8 as corrected; paragraphs 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 as read; paragraph 15 as corrected; paragraph 16 as read; paragraph 17 and 18 as corrected; paragraphs 19 and 20 as read. On motion paragraphs 21 and 22 were recommitted to the committee for redrafting.

Adjournment at 12.25 to reconvene at 2 p.m.

Afternoon Session, Monday, April 27

Convention called to order at 2.15 p.m. by Chairman F. E. Passonno.

On roll call all delegates present.

Minutes of the morning session, Monday, April 27, were read. Motion made and carried to include in the minutes the name of the delegate reporting for each committee. On motion the minutes were adopted as amended.

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto, F.N.H. Lang, Maryland reporting, recommended the adoption of the revised paragraphs 21 and 22 in the proposed Platform. On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in. Regularly moved, seconded and carried that the Platform be adopted as a whole.

The committee recommended the adoption of the Resolution on Unemployment. On motion the reso-

lution was adopted as corrected.

The committee recommended the adoption of the Resolution on Absolutism in Government. On motion the resolution was adopted as corrected, and the committee further instructed to effect minor changes in the wording in paragraph 19.

The committee recommended the adoption of the Resolution on the Mooney Case. On motion the resolution was adopted as read.

Committee on Attitude of the Party toward Economic Organization and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto, Mack Johnson, Oregon, reporting:

The committee recommended the adoption of the Resolution on Economic Organization and Attitude Toward Strikes. On motion the resolution was adopted as corrected.

The committee recommended that the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE publish an editorial based on the resolution submitted by Section Wayne County, Mich., re the organization of local Socialist Industrial Unions. On motion the entire question was referred to the National Executive Committee.

A recess of 15 minutes was declared at 3.55 p.m.

Auditing Committee, F. C. Zermann, Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation, reporting: Reported that the accounts of the National Office and the Party Plant have been audited for the years 1932-3, 1933-4, 1934-5 and 1935-6, and recommended that these financial reports be adopted by the convention, with the proviso that the report for the year 1935-6 be approved by the N. E. C. On motion the recommendation was concurred in.

Committee on Party Press and Literature, J. W. Aiken, Massachusetts, reporting:

Recommendation 1, on the Knudsen matter:

1. This committee finds that the Editor's analysis and criticism of the Knudsen articles were sound and in accordance with the Party's position on the questions raised.

2. This committee finds that the action of the Editor in publishing and analyzing Comrade Knudsen's articles conformed to propriety, and, in view of the extenuating circumstances mentioned in her report on the matter, taking it up in the WEEKLY PEOPLE was necessary and consistent with her position as Editor.

A statement was received from Comrade Knudsen that he was now in full agreement with the analysis and criticism made of his articles by the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

On motion recommendation 1 of the committee was concurred in.

Recommendation 2, re literature in the French language:

The committee recommends that the resolution of Section Montreal be concurred in and that appropriate and necessary literature be translated into French to such extent as is feasible.

On motion recommendation 2 of the committee was concurred in.

Recommendation 3, re the WEEKLY PEOPLE:

The Committee on Party Press and Literature recommends that Sections and members be urged to exert greater efforts to get the WEEKLY PEOPLE on newsstands and that as additional means for increasing sales and subscriptions to the WEEKLY

PEOPLE, the suggestions in Comrade George Bopp's letter, embodied in the N.E.C. report, be followed by Sections and members. On motion the recommendation was concurred in.

Recommendation 4, re resolution on Section Wayne County, Mich., re Field and Headquarters Notes:

The desire of members to see the WEEKLY PEOPLE devote more space to purely agitational and educational articles is considered by this committee to be a laudable one, but, on the other hand, to do this by cutting down or condensing the Notes still more than is now done is unwise.

The Field and Headquarters Notes are not only of interest and value to members, but contain educational matter for non-members. In a sense it is a summary of what the Party is doing and impressive to all who take up the WEEKLY PEOPLE for the first time, for there is to be found an understanding of the scope and nature of our activities.

Nor can it be denied that Party members, too, find, by means of this medium, information not otherwise obtainable. It would be utterly impossible for the National Office to keep Sections informed of these vital activities, due to the tremendous labor involved in so doing.

Field and Headquarters Notes is an effective and economical method of keeping the membership informed, and so we believe the majority of the Party members consider it.

Therefore the Committee on Party Press and Literature, believing the Field and Headquarters Notes indispensable, and that any further condensation than is now practised would be detrimental to the best in-

terests of the Party, recommends that Section Wayne County's resolution be not adopted.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Recommendation 5, re May Day Magazine. On ruling by the chair this recommendation was divided into two parts (a) and (b), to be acted upon separately:

(a) The May First Magazine constitutes a valuable addition to our publications as is proved by the response it has met with. This committee feels that it should continue to appear annually.

On motion part (a) of the recommendation was concurred in.

(b) On the other hand, if the cost of publication could be reduced, it would widen its appeal. The Committee on Party Press and Literature, therefore, recommends that, if possible, the paper stock or printing technicalities be altered so that it may be sold at a lower price.

On motion part (b) of the recommendation was not concurred in.

A collection was taken up for the WEEKLY PEOPLE amounting to \$26.70.

Committee on International Socialist Movement, George Bopp, New Jersey, reporting:

The committee recommended the adoption of the Resolution on the International Socialist Movement. On motion the resolution was adopted as read.

The committee recommended adoption of the Resolution on Soviet Russia. On motion the resolution was adopted as corrected.

The committee recommended the adoption of the Resolution on International Situation and Future

War. During the reading of the said resolution a motion to suspend the rules was carried to permit the committee to complete its report. On motion the resolution was adopted as corrected.

Delegates F.N.H. Lang, Maryland, J. Vonica, Michigan, L. Jereme, Virginia, J. Ehrhardt, Wisconsin, reported that they would be unable to attend further sessions of the convention. Motion carried that delegates who must leave be excused from attending future sessions. The four delegates leaving rendered short reports of conditions in their territories.

Convention adjourned at 6 p.m., to reconvene Tuesday, April 28, at 10 a.m.

Morning Session, Tuesday, April 28

Convention called to order at 10.35 a.m., by Chairman F. E. Passonno. On motion John W. Aiken, Massachusetts, was elected chairman for the day.

On motion Emil F. Teichert, New York, was elected vice chairman for the day.

On roll call 43 delegates reported present. O. M. Johnson, New York, J. Vonica, Michigan, J. Ehrhardt, Wisconsin, L. Jereme, Virginia, F. N. H. Lang, Maryland, absent with excuse.

Minutes of the afternoon session of April 27 were read and adopted as amended and corrected.

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto, J. C. Borden, Jr., Connecticut, reporting, reported progress.

Committee on Radio, H. Simon, Connecticut, reporting. The com-

mittee recommended the adoption of Resolution 1 (re intensified radio campaign):

"Whereas, With the imminent collapse of capitalism and the consequent encroachments upon the freedom of speech, a danger which will intensify and parallel the trend toward industrial feudalism; and

"Whereas, In this critical period the Party must leave no stone unturned in utilizing every effective agency of propaganda before civil rights are dangerously curtailed; and

"Whereas, The use of the radio has become imperative for the greater spread and more even distribution of the Party's revolutionary message, especially in areas otherwise unapproachable; and

"Whereas, The national political campaign and the resulting widespread interest in political activity has the effect of making available radio station facilities which at other times might be denied the Party; and finally

"Whereas, the Party's limited radio experience has demonstrated that radio broadcasting widens its sphere of influence; advertises the Party's official organ; builds up study classes; and enlarges the attendance at lectures, etc.; be it

"Resolved, That this convention go on record as endorsing an intensified radio campaign, to be directed and coordinated by the National Office; and be it further

"Resolved, That the attached recommendations be submitted to the National Executive Committee for its use and guidance."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended the

adoption of the following recommendations:

"1. Selection of Speakers:

"(a) Speakers should be chosen with good speaking voices, the test of this to be determined by preliminary try-outs at stations, most of which allow periods for such trials.

"(b) Speakers should use vocal dynamics, i.e., proper emphasis, raising and lowering a voice, quiet enthusiasm or earnestness, proper tempo of speaking, etc.

"(c) Good diction is an essential. Each word should be spoken clearly and proper pronunciation made certain. Practice and proper breathing while rehearsing speech are important.

"(d) Speakers should be able to read fluently. As in other things practice in reading aloud will assist greatly. Furthermore, complete familiarity with the contents of talk will facilitate fluent reading. Proper breathing is also important here.

"2. Radio Relations:

"(a) Subdivisions should select members with business acumen to contact radio stations. Effort should be made to secure commercial rates, political rates being much higher. Tact and courtesy should be used when dealing with radio station authorities, and also in the event of an arising controversy.

"(b) Sign contracts for the full period of the planned series and take advantage of discounts.

"3. Preparation of Talks:

"The committee recommends that the suggestions of Comrade C. M. Carlson of Ketchikan, Alaska, who is experienced in radio work, be followed:

"A speech that is fine for a hall or street meeting is not necessarily

worth very much on the air; that is, not worth what it costs for "time," unless the "chain" of speech material is intensely interesting and has a proper "hook" on the end of it to "bring home the bacon," the radio talk is considered largely wasted.

"The S.L.P. has in its principles, tactics—its De Leonism—the ingredients for the most interesting kind of radio messages that could possibly be imagined, from the standpoint of holding attention of a radio listener, and the trick of fastening the proper "hook" to the trend of the "chain" should not be difficult if the proper study and effort are put forth. . . . The subject of Daniel De Leon lends itself especially well to radio broadcasting. People like biography. Anyone does. It is news to most people that the S.L.P. is the oldest Socialist organization—that it is the Party of De Leon—that Lenin recognized De Leon as the only Socialist scholar who had added anything to Socialist science since Marx; which would in turn suggest the question of **WHAT** that something was, etc. . . .

"We certainly can let millions know that there is an S.L.P.; who and what Marx really is; who De Leon was—what his lifework was. We can convict the capitalist system out of the mouths of the capitalist spokesmen themselves. . . . As for the C.P. and S.P. crowd, they can also be exposed out of their own mouths. . . .

"I think there are many things that can be put out with every element of human interest, suspense, humor to the point, etc., that will keep listeners-in stay tuned-in and holding on until the final "hook" is given them to get their names and

addresses and request for something we might decide to offer them.'

"4. Coordination and Organization of Radio Talks:

"Quoting from Comrade Carlson again—'Having met a number of men and women who were and are considered experts in the broadcasting line, I have learned from them that there is perhaps no other way where one can waste money more easily than buying "time" on the air unless everything connected with it is done with full knowledge of what is being done.'

"The committee recommends:

"(a) That Subdivisions avoid haphazard broadcasts and concentrate on sustained series of talks, developing many sides of the Socialist question in orderly sequence.

"(b) Questions should be asked for from the audience, and at intervals time set aside for the answering of these questions over the air.

"(c) Utilize broadcasts to advertise lectures, social affairs, study classes and Party literature. Pleas for funds may also be made.

"(d) Avoid too many announcements, etc., on any one broadcast.

"(e) It is further recommended that the subdivisions submit proposed talks to the Sub-Committee for correction and endorsement, providing time permits.

"5. Free Time:

"(a) Investigate all radio forums and try to secure free time.

"(b) Investigate the possibilities for securing time for lectures.

"6. Advertising Talks:

"The committee recommends that radio broadcast be advertised in every legitimate manner.

"(a) Printing of cards for distribution; said cards, furthermore, to

be enclosed in half dozen lots in answers to correspondence with any inquirers.

"(b) Announcements should be placed under Radio News page of newspapers. Letters should be sent to the radio editors of papers, asking that program be listed in radio log as 'Socialist Labor Party' and listed among 'Special Features' if possible.

"7. Opening and Closing Announcements:

"(a) The announcer should be brief in his introduction. Example: Introduction — 'Introducing Mr. John Doe of the Socialist Labor Party. Mr. Doe.'

"Conclusion: 'You have just listened to Mr. John Doe of the Socialist Labor Party. The S.L.P. will be heard again over this station next . . . evening at this hour.'

"8. Tips to Speakers (from Eric Hass's letter to the National Office, March, 1936):

"(1) Be sure of yourself and practice each speech before a dummy microphone.

"(2) Use vocal dynamics by putting expression into your delivery.

"(3) Mark the script with a 'p' where you want to pause and underscore when you want to emphasize.

"(4) Keep your mind on the script during delivery.

"(5) Have the speech well timed. Do not read too fast. Mark the script where you should be at 5 minutes, 10 minutes, and during the last minute or so you can finish faster or slower to end 'on the nose.'

"(6) Enunciation: Pronounce each word distinctly and treat it as a separate entity. Never run words together. While you might 'get away' with this on the platform, it is a

poor recommendation to your radio audience. Key your ear. Listen to yourself speak.

"(7) Be certain of correct pronunciation. Where there is the slightest doubt look the word up and mark it for pronunciation on the script."

On motion the recommendations of the committee, together with the suggestion from S. Smiley, New York, were referred to the National Executive Committee for such action as it found possible.

Committee on National Campaign, E. A. Teichert, Pennsylvania, reporting. The committee recommended the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 1:

"Whereas, The need for ever-increasing contributions to the agitational funds of the revolutionary movement is apparent; and

"Whereas, Particularly this year, 1936, being a national campaign year, the need for a large campaign fund is imperative; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this convention endorses the action of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee in issuing a call for a \$100,000 National Campaign Fund."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 2:

"Whereas, The N.E.C. Sub-Committee has issued a call for a \$100,000 National Campaign Fund; and

"Whereas, The N.E.C. Sub-Committee has recommended specific measures to be employed in reaching that goal, as outlined in a letter of recent date to the subdivisions of the Party; therefore be it

"Resolved, That these recommen-

dations be endorsed by the National Convention."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 3:

"Whereas, The amount of \$100,000 has been set as our objective for the 1936 Campaign Fund; and

"Whereas, In the light of the pressing need for sound scientific Socialist education, this goal of \$100,000 should be considered an absolute minimum; and

"Whereas, We are, at the present time, in sight of our pre-convention Campaign Fund objective of \$20,000; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the members and sympathizers of the Party be urged by this convention to duplicate their pre-convention Campaign Fund pledges, to the end that we collect a similar amount by July 15, 1936."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 4:

"Whereas, The increased agitational activities of the Party in connection with the National Campaign of 1936 will inevitably overtax an already over-burdened staff at the National Office; and

"Whereas, These campaign activities should be handled by a special department, organized for that specific purpose, under the jurisdiction of the National Secretary; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this convention recommend to the N.E.C. the appointment of a special assistant to the National Secretary, to handle such matters in connection with the campaign, and for its duration, as the National Secretary may direct."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 5:

"Whereas, It is evident that the Party must increase its agitational activities, as capitalist dissolution takes its course; and

"Whereas, Public meetings, both outdoor and indoor, are one of the best means we have at our disposal for this purpose; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this convention recommend to the N.E.C. that our national candidates be toured; and be it further

"Resolved, That this convention recommend to the N.E.C. that as many national organizers as is considered advisable by the National Office be put on the road for the Party."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 6:

"Whereas, The strain in connection with Party agitation is severe; and

"Whereas, This strain in the past has caused some of our national organizers to break down in health; and

"Whereas, This is due in some measure to lack of sufficient rest and recuperation periods; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this convention recommend to the N.E.C. that it insist that 'rest days' be considered *rest days*, and that organizers be cautioned against accepting extra assignments on such rest days."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Committee on General Party Agi-

tation, S. French, Illinois, reporting. The committee recommended the adoption of the following recommendations:

Recommendation 1:

"This committee does not concur in the resolution submitted to it on 'General rulings and regulations of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee being enlarged upon sufficiently when printed in the WEEKLY PEOPLE to give the membership more detailed analysis for application of such rulings and regulations,' as it feels only the general notes given in the WEEKLY PEOPLE are sufficient for comprehension and application, being limited by necessity to a general report."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Recommendation 2:

"General discussion was entertained on the subject of study classes, covering the fundamentals expressed in pages 17 to 22a of the report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE—the study classes comprising a valuable part of the educational program of the Socialist Labor Party:

Topics covered—

"(a) The Management of Study Classes.

"(b) Uniform methods of teaching and studying.

"(c) Varying degrees of acquiring this knowledge.

"(d) Specified text-books and other sources of such knowledge.

"(e) Speakers' classes.

"(f) Questions and answers prepared for instructor and pupils.

"(g) Beginners to be given no home work.

"(h) Preliminary review by in-

structor before class, giving synopsis of lesson, followed by questions and answers from students on the preliminary review interpreting the instructor's outline.

"As a result of our analysis, we recommend:

"(1) That study class meetings be limited to approximately two hours.

"(2) That a preliminary review of the topic, to be studied, be stated by the instructor.

"(3) That uniform procedure be adhered to by the national organization.

"In view of which we endorse the recommendations outlined by Comrade Olive M. Johnson, in her report to the convention, and further advocate that when a beginners' study class is formed the simpler De Leon pamphlets be first introduced as the 'ABC of Socialism,' namely, 'What Means This Strike?', 'Reform or Revolution,' 'Burning Question of Trades Unionism.'

"The advanced class of students thereafter may choose any pamphlets or books of their choice, at the discretion of the instructor, but we recommend development in the following order:

"1. 'What Means This Strike?'

"2. 'Reform or Revolution?'

"3. 'Burning Question of Trades Unionism.'

"4. 'Socialist Reconstruction of Society.'

"5. 'Two Pages from Roman History.'

"6. 'Crises in European History.'

"7. 'Value, Price and Profit.'

"8. 'Industrial Unionism (Editorials).'

"9. 'Unemployment.'

On motion the recommendation of

the committee was amended to include instruction to the National Executive Committee to prepare a study class enrollment form for national use. On motion the recommendation as amended was adopted.

Recommendation 3:

"The California Disruption:

"In view of the disclosures, this committee goes on record as approving emphatically the manner of handling the California disruption case recently by the National Office, including the National Executive Committee, its Sub-Committee and the National Secretary, according to the 24-page document, recording the communications exchanged, which was sent to all the membership. There was no other course to pursue."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Recommendation No. 4:

"Weekly People Clubs:

"Referring to the tentative Constitution and By-Laws of the Weekly People Club, as submitted by the State Executive Committee of Ohio, we heartily endorse the formation of Weekly People Clubs, and that portion of the proposed Constitution and By-Laws submitted by the S.E.C. of Ohio, embracing particularly Articles I and II.

"In Article I, however, that in place of the words 'subscribe to,' the words be substituted 'subscribe to or sympathize with'—eliminating the word 'member.'

"This committee is not in accord with Article III of the afore-mentioned Constitution and By-Laws, as relates to management, and in its place would recommend substitution of the statement that 'The

management of the Club shall be in accordance with S.L.P. Constitution and procedure."

[At this point the suggestion was made that since it was not advisable or necessary to read these By-Laws at this time, the entire matter be referred to the N.E.C.]

On motion the entire question of Weekly People Clubs was referred to the N.E.C. Sub-Committee for consideration and action.

The committee submitted recommendations on radio, outdoor agitation and campaign manager, which had been previously covered in the reports of other committees. On motion these recommendations were received and filed.

The Credentials Committee, F. C. Zermann, Hungarian S.L.F., reporting, reported having received the credentials of Rose Weinberger, New York, alternate delegate to replace O. M. Johnson, and recommended that she be seated as a delegate. Motion to concur carried.

On motion the action of the convention on the recommendation of the Committee on Constitution, re the resolution from the New Jersey S.E.C. concerning non-attendance at business meetings, was reconsidered. On motion the recommendation of the committee on this resolution was again concurred in.

Convention adjourned at 12.15 p.m. to reconvene at 2 p.m.

—
*Afternoon Session, Tuesday,
April 28*

Convention called to order by Chairman J. W. Aiken at 2.05 p.m.

On roll call forty delegates were present. J. C. Borden, Jr., Connecticut, J. P. Quinn, Massachusetts,

W. Woodhouse, Ohio, absent on committee. J. Fischer, Kentucky, absent with excuse.

Minutes of morning session, April 28, read and adopted as read.

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto, J. C. Borden, Jr., reporting. The committee recommended that the convention concur in the constitutional changes proposed in the report of the National Executive Committee, with certain changes and additions proposed by the Committee on Constitution, and included in its detailed report.

On motion the recommendation of the committee on Article II, Section 5, clause f, re issuance of membership card with one [free dues] stamp to new members was not concurred in.

On motion the recommendation of the committee on Article XIII, introduction and Section 7, re changing the sequence and wording of these sections in this article, was not concurred in. On motion the words "affiliated with" in the second and third lines of Article XIII, were stricken out, and the words "attached to" substituted; the words "in the following manner" in the third line to be stricken out and the words "on the following basis" substituted.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted with above noted exceptions.

On motion the incoming N.E.C. Sub-Committee was empowered to effect any minor changes in numbering and to edit wording that might be required.

During the hearing of the report of the Committee on Constitution a

recess of five minutes was declared at 4.20 p.m.

During the reading of the report of the Committee on Constitution the following delegates asked to be excused from further attendance at the convention: W. R. Knudsen and J. E. Procum, Illinois; C. F. Bishop, Rhode Island; A. Tueling, Michigan; A. Schneider, California. On motion the rules were suspended to hear reports from the departing delegates. Delegates Procum and Schneider made short reports on conditions in their territories.

Committee on Mileage, F. C. Zermann, Hungarian S.L.F., reporting, reported that several delegates had requested changes in their mileage resulting in refunds of \$46.17, reducing the total mileage of the convention to \$1,932.87.

Adjournment at 6 p.m., to reconvene at 7 p.m.

—
Tuesday Evening Session, April 28

Convention called to order at 7.25 p.m. by Chairman J. W. Aiken.

On roll call 37 delegates were present; Beorge Bopp, New Jersey, excused.

Minutes of the afternoon session, April 28, were read and adopted as corrected.

On motion the N.E.C. was instructed to investigate the question of preparing advertising stickers to be attached to sample copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, as suggested in the report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Reports of Delegates. On motion

the reports of delegates were restricted to five minutes. The following delegates reported, and on motion their reports were accepted:

I. Shenkan for California; P. Nicholove for Colorado; H. Simon for Connecticut; W. Beckwith for District of Columbia; S. French for Illinois; H. G. Wise for Indiana; J. W. Aiken and J. P. Quinn for Massachusetts; W. Foy for Minnesota; W. W. Cox for Missouri; E. F. Teichert for New York; J. W. Morris for Ohio; M. Johnson for Oregon; J. A. Pirinein for Pennsylvania; R. Ottem for Washington.

The National Secretary read the reports of the Bulgarian S.L.F., Hungarian S.L.F., and South Slavonian S.L.F., as incorporated in the report of the National Executive Committee. On motion these reports were adopted.

During the reading of the report of the South Slavonian S.L.F., Chairman J. W. Aiken was excused and Vice Chairman E. F. Teichert took his place.

Recess was declared at 9.25 p.m. for the preparation of the minutes.

Convention called to order at 9.40 p.m. by Vice Chairman Emil F. Teichert.

The minutes of the 19th National Convention were read and adopted as read.

The convention adjourned at 10.10 p.m. *sine die*.

Fraternally submitted,
Ward Beckwith,
Recording Secretary.
Sophie Blumenstock,
Ass't Recording Secretary.

THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE CONVENTION.

Introduction.

Greetings:

The 1936 national campaign in the United States opens in a setting of profound world unrest, and almost complete world chaos. At no time in the world's history within a century and a half has there been a general situation of such tremendous magnitude in point of world conflict, and universal confusion and threatening disaster, as at this very moment. To find anything comparable, relatively speaking, one must go back to the period of the Renaissance, and the age of Reformation which followed it, and which kept the then civilized world in chaos and turmoil, in a state of fermentation and violence, for a hundred years or more. But the processes of transformation which then required decades or centuries to complete are now effected in a year or two. The social forces that have been unleashed, and which only the working class, organized on De Leon-Marxian lines, can again bring under control, and direct toward a fruitful and socially useful end—these forces are rushing through our decadent and dying social system like the mighty torrents which recently have flooded our valleys and lowlands, threatening, or causing destruction of incalculable consequences.

The famous Marxian dictum that

history repeats itself, once as tragedy and again as farce, is confirmed in many respects as the capitalist system with lightning speed is approaching its termination as a social system in its proper historic sense. On the world stage now as, say, thirty years ago, there appear men and mummers, making their exits and entrances, doing their ephemeral stunts, and then pass on. They seem to be mere imitations, and their acts mere repetitions, of those of a generation ago. Yet that is true only in a superficial sense. And if the matters which agitated the mummers of a generation ago sometimes seem farcical to us, it is chiefly because we view them in a perspective made possible through an economic development which, absolutely and relatively speaking, can only be described as phenomenal. Fundamentally, the struggle and issues of a generation ago are the same as in our day. Even some of the individuals were the same as today. Scanning through the political literature of the campaign of 1908, for instance, we find, among others, the unspeakable Hearst occupying the center of the stage, though then in the sinister, demagogic role of arousing the mob spirit through his masked or sham attacks on corporate wealth, as then particularly exemplified in Standard Oil. At the moment this sinister

character, securely ensconced behind his immense wealth, is howling and fuming with rage because his telegrams have been placed at the disposal of a Senatorial Committee—telegrams wherein his unscrupulous and reactionary designs were discussed. In 1908 Mr. Hearst was publishing private telegrams which he had stolen—or which someone had stolen for him—from the files of Standard Oil. In one of these letters (written by a Senator McLaurin to John D. Archbold of the Standard Oil Co.) Theodore Roosevelt is quoted as saying that some day he hoped to be able "to take a fall out of that Standard Oil gang" for the reason that attacking the Standard Oil would "appeal to the masses and keep him [Roosevelt] in the centre of the stage." Theodore Roosevelt is gone, but Hearst is still here at his same old game—truly a symbol of capitalist unscrupulousness, demagogic and ultra reaction.

In 1908 hireling bands—referred to as "Night Riders and Lynchers"—carried on in behalf of those who desired to raise prices of cotton, threatening to burn crops and cotton-gin houses if cotton was ginned before prices rose. True, in our day this sort of thing is done under government supervision, but the object and result are the same—destroy crops to keep up prices, so that the existence of this bankrupt capitalist system may be prolonged. "The peace of Europe" was threatened then as now, and the machinations of statesmen were reviewed with dire forebodings. The Balkans were the powder magazine then, as Central Europe is the powder magazine today. Treaties were discussed with the same owlish solemnities that they

are discussed today. "Austria makes no apology for her sudden action," observes one commentator. Substitute "Hitler" for "Austria," and we have a current newspaper headline before us.

And the politicians of that year were making the same appeals that we hear today. Taft, who was the Republican candidate, wept for the "laboring men," meanwhile attacking the proposal of the Democratic politicians to curb the use of "injunctions in industrial disputes." The tariff, "the immediate independence of the Philippines," control and regulation of banks to safeguard the investors and prevent panics; attacks on the Democratic "financial and economic theories....calculated to frighten all sound, conservative business men"; ridicule of Bryan's "greenbackism" and the danger thereof—these, and many others, read as if they were uttered by a Mr. Ogden Mills against a Franklin D. Roosevelt. Such phrases as these: "The country is just now slowly recovering from a financial depression and a panic which came to us in October and November of last year" (i.e., 1907, not 1929!); "all that is needed is the restoration of confidence"; "the necessary capital would be withheld [if Taft was not elected] and we should probably have a continuation of the present [1908] depression for the coming four years"; these and many others sound as if they might have been uttered today by the Liberty Leaguers or the New Dealers, as the case might be.

On his part Bryan promised return of prosperity, and as the grand, outstanding "labor" objective he guaranteed—the establishment of a

Department of Labor! The Republicans were charged with responsibility for the panic of 1907, even as Hoover and his immediate predecessors were charged with responsibility for the "panic" of 1929, and even as Frank D. Roosevelt is now held responsible for its continuance. Varying the appeal but slightly, Eugene V. Debs, of the bourgeois S. P., pleaded for what has now come to be known as typical Social Democratic and Anarcho-Communist reform measures. "As means of temporary relief," said Debs, "applicable during the period of transition to a collective system of industry, the party [S.P.] proposes 'immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works.'" These proposals, be it remembered, were made by Debs and the S.P., and not by Franklin D. Roosevelt or any other New Dealer! With implications of imminent, dreadful disaster to the capitalist, and quoting one of his brethren, Debs said: "Prophecy is dangerous, but 1908 should for many reasons hold in store a great surprise for the old-party politicians." Nearly thirty years have passed; Debs and most of the politicians of his day have sunk into their graves, and capitalist politicians are still uttering the same stock phrases, and petty bourgeois politicians a la Socialist party and Communist party are still mumbling the same silly reform phrases, the same empty threats, and the same reactionary "immediate demands"!

In contrast to all these, then as

now, spoke the Socialist Labor Party, but then through the mouth of that sterling proletarian champion, the late August Gillhaus. Exposing the hollowness of the reforms, pointing to the menace looming up in the shape of absolutism in government, with its inevitable accompaniment of economic serfdom for the workers, the Socialist Labor Party in 1908 stressed the imperative need of the Industrial Union as the only means of achieving the emancipation of our class. "The necessity of the union—that is, the revolutionary economic organization of the working class, organized upon the integrally industrial plan, *and thereby able to perform the revolutionary act*, through being able to perform the function of an 'army of occupation.' Without such economic organization, the day of Socialist [political] victory, if at all possible, would be the day of its defeat." And uttering a solemn warning as to the consequences of such a political victory, without that "army of occupation"—i.e., the revolutionary Industrial Union, the S.L.P. said in that campaign of 1908:

"No greater calamity could befall the land, and, therefore Socialism itself, than the political victory of Socialism unaccompanied by the adequate economic organization, ready to 'move in' and assume the reins of administration. As physical force anarchism [read Anarcho-Communism] would lead directly to a Paris Commune massacre, so would a pure and simple Socialist political victory plunge the country into national chaos.... Not the Socialist Republic, but the 'President Hog' of Macaulay's forecast, or the

savage Caesar of Ignatius Donnelly's 'Caesar's Column,' would then leap out of the cauldron in which the present social forces are seething."

In these words are embodied, on the one hand, the full-orbed program of the Social Revolution, and, on the other, the inescapable alternative, economic autocracy, or Industrial Feudalism. And the issue is the same today.

Have we, then, stood still in these thirty years? Are we standing still, turning around on the spot, as it were? Are we but repeating, with different men and mummers, the political and social show of a generation ago? No, we have not stood still. We are not spinning around in circles. We, that is, society, have moved rapidly until we have definitely reached the parting of the ways. The politicians and the reformers, however, have stood still. They have been, and are, spinning around in circles. These reformers have learned nothing; "evermore they come out by that same door as in they went." The Socialist Labor Party in 1908 was abreast of—nay, in a measure, ahead of the times. But time has caught up with us, or nearly so. If chaos and confusion reigned thirty years ago, the chaos has spread until it can scarce spread farther; and the confusion has become a thousand times worse confounded. But, as De Leon said:

"For all this there is no hopeless chaos. Through the thick dust raised by the universal clash, the lines are perceptible that distinguish the diverse social currents."

And he added:

"In the state of social statics, however bitter the outbursts of feuds among the ruling sections of a commonweal, the menace of social dissolution is absent. It is otherwise at the transition stage of dynamics. At that stage the menace of the dissolution of the social bonds leaps up hideously—and, then, rough-hewn though class tactics may be, that menace shapes ruling class strategy. In sight of the dread apparition [of social anarchy] society, instinctively alarmed for its safety, ever flies to the other extreme—absolutism. *The move ever proceeds from the ruling class.*"

On the eve of this great campaign, we of the Socialist Labor Party stand, without reproach and without stain, clear-sighted and with steady hand. And as we review the work of our Party during this last momentous four-year period, and as we bend to the task, we do so in the spirit of unconquered and conquering soldiers of the army of working class emancipation, determined that capitalism must be destroyed.

Campaign of 1932.

The report of our four-year period naturally begins with the 1932 campaign. The National Secretary covered the campaign, and the most salient points, in his report to the N.E.C. in session 1933, and it is not necessary to repeat in detail what was said then. Suffice it to say that the results of the campaign went beyond our expectations, providing a powerful impetus to Party activity and growth. Altogether there were toured, either directly by the National Office or by state and local organizations, about twenty-four

comrades, which then was an "all-time high," but which we should at least double this campaign. A tremendous quantity of literature was sold or distributed free, including about 3,000,000 campaign leaflets. More than \$23,000 was collected for the campaign, a figure which we expect to multiply four times *this* year. A number of radio addresses were broadcast. All in all, it was a stirring campaign which, however, we expect to surpass in the campaign of 1936.

Organizers on the Road.

During the years following the 1932 campaign a great many comrades have been toured—more, in fact, than in any other similar period in Party history. They include the following comrades: John P. Quinn, Verne L. Reynolds, Eric Hass, J. P. Campbell, W. Woodhouse, E. H. Culshaw, Mack Johnson, John W. Aiken, and others. Locally, or under state auspices, the following comrades have been toured, for shorter periods of time: Theo. Gramaticoff, Joe Ehrhardt, R. H. Catching, Geo. Bopp, Emil F. Teichert, Jacob Berlin, Aaron M. Orange, A. J. Taylor, W. W. Cox, Alfred Teichert, J. C. Borden, Jr., H. Simon, and others, for a few trips, or regular visits to neighboring Sections.

During the year that has just passed, the following comrades were toured: John P. Quinn, who covered the greater part of the country, as far west and southwest as Denver, Colo., and Oklahoma. Eric Hass, who traveled up and down the west coast, doing splendid work for the Party; V. L. Reynolds, who con-

tinued the Lecture Circuit tours, terminating them in June, 1935, with Circuit No. 9, in Michigan, continuing with short tours under the auspices of the New York and Pennsylvania State Executive Committees, and finally going on a tour covering Atlantic and Midwestern states, which recently was brought to a close in Oklahoma where Comrade Reynolds intends to remain for a while if he can manage to make a living. If he does stay in Oklahoma we may depend on having one or more S.L.P. Sections there in the near future. We shall have more to say later about Comrade Reynolds's work and results attained. Comrade Aiken was toured for limited periods of time in New England (particularly in Massachusetts and Rhode Island), the Massachusetts tour having been directed by the Massachusetts S.E.C. Comrade Culshaw was toured through Canada last summer for a period of about two months, and through the Middle West for about three months, his tour terminating about September 30. For eleven weeks Comrade Culshaw was toured under the auspices of the Illinois S.E.C., with the National Office paying part of the expense. Comrade Campbell, who had been on the road, with but brief interruptions, since the campaign of 1932, was toured through the states of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Illinois, his tour terminating (as in the case of some of the other comrades, for lack of funds to continue) about the end of October last. Comrades Eric Hass and Mack Johnson alternated as organizers in the Pacific Coast states. There is no need of commenting on the work accomplished

and the manner of doing it, by Comrade Hass, as well as the other veteran comrades mentioned. Special mention should be made here of Mack Johnson who, despite his youth, seems to carry himself like a veteran, having developed into a fine speaker and organizer, according to all reports. It is hoped that following the 1936 campaign, and for an indefinite period, we shall be able to continue on the road these comrades: Quinn, Reynolds, Hass, Culshaw, Aiken, Johnson, and as many others as possible.

Comrade John P. Quinn has submitted the following observations and report covering last year's activities:

"Mr. Arnold Petersen,
"45 Rose St.,
"New York, N.Y.
"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"In viewing our activity during the past year, two things seem to me to stand out prominently. One is a feeling of apathy on the part of the workers as a whole; the other, a more widespread and intense interest in our program by a greater number of workers. That may seem contradictory, but it isn't. Both these separate and distinct conditions are a result of something else. That something else is a growing and widening consciousness among increasing numbers of workers that, despite an apparent improvement in business, conditions confronting the working class are steadily becoming worse. The working class looked hopefully to the present administration to restore prosperity and to President Roosevelt specifically as the magician whose energetic per-

formances were to do that. Their hopes were raised to the 'seventh heaven' of expectation. But, during the past year in particular, they have been so punctured with disappointment that now they are as flat as a deflated tire. Despite stimulants administered to the collapsing system, it continues to disintegrate and the lot of the workers becomes worse.

"The expected return of prosperity did not materialize with the repeal of the 18th Amendment. Unemployment was not abolished by the forty-hour week. Places on the relief rolls vacated by workers put to work on government projects are taken by other workers continually being displaced by the introduction of new machines. Due to increased living costs and inadequate wages, the workers' standard of living is sagging. All the problems are still here, but with gathered force because of increasing economic pressure. This pressing condition among the workers, coupled with disappointment, has created a feeling of helplessness and of apathy tinged with despair. It is a natural reflex of the high expectations held out by the promises and activities of the administration with its almost total lack of anything substantial for the workers. The administration by providing relief has prevented a revolution; and, through increasing governmental spending, it has prevented the wholesale wiping out of the small bourgeoisie. The working class has nothing to gain by putting off the revolution, and certainly they have no interest in the fate of the small business element. What the workers are interested in is how to make and improve their living standards,

and how to safeguard their future. Not one of these problems has been solved; there isn't the slightest probability of their ever being solved under capitalism. Workers are beginning to realize that. That speeds up the disillusionment process. But in total ignorance of what to do, and beset on every side by a maze of confusing ideas, the bewildered worker's reaction to all this, for the moment, takes the form of apathy.

"Yet, viewing that apathy as one might view the country gripped by a severe winter with mountainous snow everywhere, and trudging through the snow one might shortsightedly cry out in despair that the snow will never go! It seems that way at the time. But as the season advances and the earth tilts toward the sun, there can be seen coming from underneath the blanket of snow little streams of flowing water. They are mute testimony as to what is happening to the snow bank. It is likewise with the working class. From underneath the blanket of working class apathy, chilling as it is, can be seen streams of social discontent. Some of these streams are as yet mere tricklings, but from them has come the increased attendance at our meetings. Because of these, as I have said, our meetings on the whole were bigger and better.

"The great body of the working class may for the moment be steeped in apathy, but individuals among them rise superior to their surroundings. Such individuals are able to see ahead of the mass of the working class. They have more independence of character. They understand and grasp the significance of things quicker. They see that their fate

is bound up with that of the entire working class, and they are being profoundly stirred by conditions. These individuals are increasing in numbers; but, for all that, they are still comparatively few in numbers. It is this type of worker that has been coming to our meetings during the past year. They account for the increase in attendance. That explains the seemingly paradoxical situation of better attended meetings despite a blanket of apathy dampening the spirits of the working class.

"There are exceptions to every rule and there seem to be two exceptions to the conditions of affairs just mentioned. In spite of the apathy, there is an increased and apparently successful activity of well financed and highly advertised capitalist reform groups such as the Townsend 'Old Age Pension Plan,' the Sinclair 'Production for Use,' etc., etc. Such groups in enlisting members, spreading their propaganda, and in collecting funds, undoubtedly made considerable headway in certain parts of the country during the past year. Such movements, however, must, if they are to remain in existence, quickly accomplish results. Otherwise, they begin to deteriorate. Their members are like youngsters setting off fireworks; the lighted firecracker to cause a thrill must explode with a racket. A mere sputtering won't do. Confronted with a powerful capitalist class, the Townsendites and the rest of the reformers are doomed to nothing but sputtering. They cannot obtain their objective; therefore, their activity can result only in failure. The capitalist class is too strongly entrenched and, through its ownership of the nation's resources, it has the

power to check the reformers. They have, nevertheless, been active and, in raising issue-beclouding dust, very successful.

"The other exception is that our Party undoubtedly reached a greater number of workers during the past year than in any other single year. We have used the radio more than ever before; and through leaflet distribution and well advertised meetings, we have reached a considerably increased number of workers with our revolutionary message. Speaking for myself I can say that through the Eastern and Midwestern parts of the country clear through to the agricultural sections, my meetings were better, and, certainly as a whole, bigger than in previous years. Despite this I saw much evidence of, and was forcibly impressed with, the prevailing apathy engulfing the workers.

"In every Presidential campaign year the workers are more interested in political questions than at any other time. That, of course, is due to the fact that the air is electric with discussions of interesting and burning questions. We can, therefore, expect that in the campaign just ahead of us the apathy will be dispelled. In the heat of political and social discussions it will scatter and disappear like smoke before a gale. We may confidently look forward to the Party's reaching and impressing with its message a greater number of workers than in any previous ten-year period. Fortunately, we have a clear program with which to attract the slowly awakening workers and an organization disciplined and trained to meet the tremendous demands to be placed upon it.

"There is another outstanding feature of our work that I wish to mention, and by which I was also much impressed during the year. That is the apparent impressiveness of our program on the workers listening to it. I am satisfied that at the lowest possible estimate, 50 per cent of those at our meetings for the first time unqualifiedly accept the correctness of our message; and the more they learn of it, the more convinced they are that it is right. I feel certain that in every audience such is the case; that there are at least that number convinced, who, at the conclusion of the meeting, think the Party's solution as sound as a tested steel rail. They are sure, too, that some time Socialism will be brought about. But, there is the rub! They do not think it can be realized for a long time to come—perhaps twenty-five or more years.

'You can never bring that about; it would be wonderful if you could; but you can't get the workers to stick together.' Again and again I have been told that. What a pleasant surprise these folks are destined to have thrust upon them!—and sooner than most of them think possible. That attitude may seem discouraging; it isn't. It would be, of course, so far as bringing into existence a new social regime is concerned, if the working class could get what it wants under capitalism. But it cannot; so its dissatisfaction is not only great and increasing, but turning to disillusionment. And once that disillusionment has shown the workers their position under capitalism and the utter impossibility of improving it, it will be easy enough then to get them to 'stick together.' Happily, those attending our meetings do

grasp the value of our solution, and they appreciate its correctness because the S.L.P. program is a reflection of and fits economic conditions as accurately as a shaft fits the bearings of the machine it was designed for. With working class understanding at last catching up with economic development, the logic of events will demonstrate with startling clarity the possibility of immediate organization for social revolution. Leading to that eventuality is the complete disillusionment of the workers. Time and work, much more hard work, by the Party, with which to reach with our principles and tactics the victims of exploitation, are alone needed. A sufficiently increased economic pressure will stir the workers in a revolutionary direction like a scent setting off bloodhounds. Then the ideas and attitude of those agreeing as to the value of our program, but who think its attainment a long way off, will dissolve in the swiftly gathering tide of change. They will learn to their amazement that our proposal is possible of immediate realization. They will then flock to its support. As the high temperature of a Turkish bath starts the perspiration oozing from the pores, so will the increasing economic pressure cause the workers to sweat. Disintegrating capitalism will abundantly supply the high temperature of economic pressure. The Socialist Labor Party will provide the working class with the knowledge of what to do to win its emancipation. The outgrowth of the combination of stifling economic pressure and De Leonist teaching will be a militant revolutionary working class that will organize and establish the Industrial

Republic of Labor.

"It has been a great year for the Socialist Labor Party; there is a greater one ahead!

"Fraternally yours,
(Signed) "John P. Quinn."

And from Comrade Hass the following report was received:

"Spokane, Washington,
"March 19, 1936.
"Mr. Arnold Petersen,
"Box 1076, City Hall Station,
"New York City, N.Y.

"Re: *Activity for past year.*
"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"All but two and a half months of the year, beginning May 1, 1935, and ending May 1, 1936, were spent in California where our energies were divided between internal disturbances and a vigorous agitational program. In Los Angeles we concentrated on a radio program and one hall lecture per week. The neighborhood lectures were expensive failures, but the audience at Sons of Herman Hall grew week by week. Meanwhile study classes in Hawthorne and Los Angeles were proceeding nicely. We organized a special class for the study of 'Capital' and two classes for the study of parliamentary law. After delivering twenty-one of the fifty-two broadcasts, we were informed by the station that our program was no longer acceptable. The general enthusiasm aroused by radio activity had made the collection of funds much easier than we had anticipated and we had a surplus of \$250 which was turned over to the National Radio Fund. When we went off the air the attendance at Sons of Herman Hall,

which had been built from about sixty to one hundred and thirty, tapered off, but held up to an average of about eighty-five.

"In the Bay Area we continued to reap from the sowing done via the radio last year. The study classes in Pittsburg and Vallejo still meet regularly and sooner or later will crystallize in two new Sections. Ten months after the series of radio talks was completed a study class was formed in Santa Rosa.

"The last two and half months of the year were spent in the Northwest and en route to New York. For the most part the Sections made complete preparations for our visit. Tacoma and the members-at-large in Vancouver, B.C., did particularly well in this respect. In Tacoma, for example, a half hour radio talk was scheduled for Thursday evening. This was well advertised, paid advertisements being placed on the radio page of the daily papers. Friday evening we had a hall lecture with about a hundred in attendance. On Saturday evening we delivered a fifteen minute address on a radio 'forum,' after which we had an organization meeting for the delivery of my talk on 'Sentiment in the S.L.P.' On Sunday we had another hall lecture. Thus the four evenings were replete with activity.

"For the past year I have stressed the need for an understanding of parliamentary law. I have found our members woefully lacking in this respect, with a few outstanding exceptions. It seems that when the Sections are small the idea prevails that they can be run as 'family affairs.' Perhaps they can, but they are paving the way to disaster, for when they do grow, bedlam will en-

sue. Hours are spent on trifling questions that should be disposed of in a few minutes. I regard an understanding of correct parliamentary procedure, and the ability to consult Robert's Rules of Order for rulings rapidly, as a necessary attribute of a revolutionist. Not only for the conduct of our own meetings is this necessary, but if we are to be prepared to take an intelligent and aggressive part in the organization of unions we must be able to confound the parliamentary trickster. Therefore, I believe, every Section should organize a class in parliamentary law following a special course or the one outlined in the back of the Revised Edition of Robert's Rules of Order. Each member should consider it his imperious duty to attend, and soon the results will manifest themselves in shorter, efficient Section meetings that are a joy to attend.

"With reference to radio broadcasting I am convinced that a series of from thirteen to fifty-two talks is far better than hit-or-miss broadcasts. With the series we are able to build up an audience, secure the respect of our listeners and expose so many facets of our movement that we are frequently able to convince them of the correctness of our program. Hit-or-miss broadcasts are worth while only when they are thoroughly advertised. These should be thirty minutes in length if that is possible, whereas fifteen minutes seems to be a good period for a series of talks.

"The point has already been made that evening hours are far superior to those in the afternoon, with the possible exception of Sunday afternoon. To purchase time during the

morning I regard as a waste of money.

"So far as the West is concerned, I hope that sooner or later we will be able to have a series of broadcasts over KNX, the 'voice of Hollywood.' This station, which operates with a power of 50,000 watts, has a vast audience throughout the West. The price for time is relatively high, but when the size of the audience is taken into consideration I believe it to be the cheapest radio service available.

"During the heat of the campaign, prices for radio time will go up and it behooves us to make our plans early, sign contracts and take advantage of the lowest prices.

"For the members in California the last year has been a trying one. In spite of all the setbacks they have never once become discouraged. Indeed, the tragic experience of disruption had its seasoning effect. Lessons were learned that will never be forgotten. When internal disruption was at its peak, it was this loyal membership who carried on successfully, combatting the systematic boycotting by the disrupters. When traitors were unmasked the loyal membership drew closer together, stronger in their determination that Capitalism Must Be Destroyed.

"Fraternally yours,
(Signed) "Eric Hass."

The special points noted by Comrade Hass will be dealt with under their respective heads, viz., Study Classes, Radio, Internal Disturbances, etc.

In addition to the above-mentioned comrades the following were toured

by State Committees: Michigan S.E.C.: James Sim; Pennsylvania S.E.C.: J. A. Pirinein; New York S.E.C.: F. Bianco, A. M. Orange and E. F. Teichert; Connecticut S.E.C.: J. C. Borden Jr. and H. Simon; New Jersey S.E.C.: Geo. Bopp.

The Lecture Circuits conducted by Comrade Reynolds under the direction of the National Office were successful in point of sales of literature, though not in point of permanent subscriptions secured, which, after all, was the primary reason for these circuits. True enough, a great many "sub. tickets" were sold, but very few were retained as regular subscribers. There was a total of nine Lecture Circuits which produced the following financial results: (cents omitted) gross collections: \$2,180; net collections: \$1,884 (difference retained by local organizations); literature sales: \$1,525; resulting in a net income of \$3,360. During the same period of time, that is, from November 24, 1933, to June 19, 1935, and covering the same number (nine) of circuits, the local organizations secured in advance three months subscriptions (each sub. entitling the purchaser to admission to the Lecture Series) to the amount of \$3,035, making a gross income for the nine circuits of approximately \$6,750 (cents omitted).

In addition to the Lecture Circuits, Comrade Reynolds made six different tours, one in advance of Lecture Circuit No. 1, and the others in between the circuits, and two following the conclusion of Lecture Circuit No. 9. These additional tours produced the following financial results (cents omitted): gross collections: \$1,423; net col-

lections: \$1,081; literature sales: \$1,060; and subscriptions secured: \$25. Adding these figures to the Lecture Circuit totals gives us the following total results (cents omitted): gross collections: \$3,604; net collections: \$2,865; literature sales: \$2,586; subscriptions: \$3,061; or a total gross income of approximately \$0,250. Deducting the subscription figure (the amounts of which were not handled by Comrade Reynolds), we find that Comrade Reynolds himself was directly instrumental in producing a gross income of somewhat less than \$6,200 from October 11, 1933, to March 2, 1936, with several months during this period for rest, and for tours arranged by the New York and Pennsylvania State Executive Committees. This is indeed a splendid showing for the comparatively short period of time.

The last tour just concluded by Comrade Reynolds, which started December 15, 1935, and terminated March 2, 1936, produced the following financial results (cents omitted): collections: \$401; literature sales: \$273; subscriptions sold: \$15. This last tour of Comrade Reynolds was undertaken under the most adverse conditions imaginable, with particular reference to the severe winter weather which prevailed almost during the entire period. In some cases Comrade Reynolds was snowbound for varying lengths of time, in one particular instance being snowbound in Illinois for almost a week. Notwithstanding this fact, Comrade Reynolds missed very few cities and when on the few occasions he did fail to make a certain city on the day that a lecture was scheduled, it was because it was physically and humanly impossible to get through the snow-blocked roads.

At the moment of preparing this report, Comrade Reynolds is in Oklahoma for the purpose, partly of resting up, and partly to try to make a living which will enable him to remain in Oklahoma, or the Southwest, for an indefinite period of time.

While in Oklahoma, Comrade Reynolds has plunged right into Party activities, continuing these though no longer in the formal employ of the National Office. Together with the Oklahoma comrades, he is now working to get the necessary signatures for the Party to get on the ballot in the State of Oklahoma, and in order, if possible, to build up Sections and a state organization that will be able to carry on Party activities throughout the state, and to serve as a focal point of agitation for the South and the Southwest. If Comrade Reynolds remains in Oklahoma for a sufficient length of time we have every reason to believe that we shall have good, hustling S.L.P. organizations in Oklahoma and neighboring territory.

Constitutional Amendments.

Our experience during the past four years, and particularly during the past year, with special reference to the California disruption, has convinced us that the Party's constitution is seriously in need of amplification, and, to some extent, revision. In the following a number of such amplifications and revisions are proposed, some of them being minor ones, others of considerable importance.

Article 1, Sect. 1: Insert words "Socialist Labor" preceding the word "Party" in the first line.

Comment: The reason for this amplification should be clear. The very first article should identify our Party by its full designation.

Article II, Sect. 1: First, it is proposed that the section's sub-sections be designated a, b, c, d, etc. It is also proposed that following the word "Section" in the second line the words "of the Socialist Labor Party" be added. Secondly, it is proposed to take out the paragraph now designated "a," and substitute it with the following to be designated "c":

"c. All applications to form a Section shall be submitted to the National Executive Committee through the State Executive Committee, which shall make the necessary recommendation to the National Executive Committee, but shall have no power to reject applications. Suitable charter application forms shall be supplied by the National Executive Committee. Each individual shall be required to sign the charter application, and shall also be required to sign the individual application blank, giving full name and address, age, occupation, previous political affiliation (if any), etc. Where no State Executive Committee exists, applications shall be forwarded direct to the National Executive Committee."

In the next paragraph (old designation "b," new "d") the words "through its organizer" to be added after the word "Section" in the first line; and the words "as soon as possible after the close of each calendar year" to be added after "State Executive Committees" in the second line. To the present last paragraph (new "d") last but next line the

words "as of" should be inserted to precede immediately the words "December 31st of each year," eliminating the word "on."

Comment: The new paragraph "c" is proposed because there is not now any detailed reference as to how a new Section shall be organized. The proposed clause follows the general practice, except that it specifically inhibits a State Committee from refusing to grant a charter application. There is nothing now in the constitution which specifically confers such a power on the State Committee, but to avoid future senseless appeals a la California S.E.C., the provision should be specific with respect to leaving it entirely up to the N.E.C. as to whether a charter should be granted or not.

The other changes are nominal, and self-explanatory.

It is proposed to add another paragraph (to be known as Article II, Sect. 1, e.) as follows:

"e. If a Section momentarily falls below the required membership minimum it may, at the discretion of the National Executive Committee, continue to function as a Section pending its being brought up to the minimum membership requirements."

Comment: This provision is similar to the one now dealing with States where momentarily less than the three Sections, required to maintain a State Executive Committee, may exist. It is felt that the same principle should be applied to a Section which momentarily falls below the required minimum in point of membership.

Article II, Sect. 4. Strike out the words "as it deems proper," third

line, and substitute the following:

"and committees as are needed to carry on the Party's business in keeping with other provisions of this constitution, and decisions of the National Executive Committee."

In the same paragraph, sixth line from top, the following to be stricken out: "and shall send an official report to each of the said committees on December 31st of each year."

In the same paragraph, eighth line from top, the word "Section" to be substituted for the word "organizer," and at the end of the present paragraph (following the words "the local organization and agitation") the following to be added:

"subject at all times to the decisions of the membership, arrived at by majority vote (unless otherwise provided), at Section meetings."

Comment: These proposed changes are of a purely nominal character and hardly require further comment.

Article II, Sect. 5. Add new clause, to be known as paragraph "a," to precede the beginning of the clause, as follows:

"a. All applications for membership must be submitted to a regular business meeting of the Section having jurisdiction over the territory in which the applicant resides. The applicant shall be required to fill out the regular application form, and also to answer all the questions in the affirmative. The application must be endorsed by a member in good standing. The application shall be referred to a membership committee composed of three members. It shall be the duty of this committee to interview the applicant with respect to his knowledge, un-

derstanding, and complete acceptance, without reservations, of the Party's principles, policies and discipline. The committee shall be required to report to the next regular business meeting of the Section, unless its investigation convinces it that it is necessary to delay its final report until a subsequent meeting, in which case it shall so report to the next business meeting, explaining briefly the reasons for the delay. The report of the committee shall be considered while the Section is in executive session."

Comment: There is not now in the constitution any reference whatever to the important question of admitting new members to the Party, and consequently no provision dealing with the manner in which members should be admitted. In many Sections applicants for membership are turned over to a Membership Committee which interviews prospective members in order to ascertain the fitness and qualifications for membership of the applicants. There is, however, nothing mandatory about this in our present constitution. The amendment proposed is designed to meet this deficiency and at the same time to make it obligatory on Sections to have standing Membership Committees. The reason for having the Membership Committee's report discussed at an executive session of the Section is, of course, to enable members to speak freely about the applicant—something which would be rather difficult if the prospective member were present, or if outsiders in general were at the meeting where the question of admitting a new member was being discussed.

Article II, Sect. 5. Redesignate

present clause "b."

Article II, Sect. 5. Add the following clause to be known as "c":

"c. No person under eighteen years of age shall be admitted to membership."

Comment: We have now no provision with respect to the minimum age at which a person may be admitted to the Party. It is felt that in most cases anyone below eighteen years of age is scarcely mature enough for the responsibilities that go with membership in the revolutionary Socialist Labor Party, even though such persons may possess a fair understanding of the Party's principles and program. It has been considered desirable to have a definite age limit fixed in the constitution, for the reason that every now and then the question comes up and decisions by the National Office have, in the nature of things, been more or less arbitrary.

Article II, Sect. 5. New clause to be known as "d":

"d. No applicant shall be admitted to membership without the presiding officer explaining the significance of the class struggle to him, and his pledging himself in writing to its recognition and support. A copy of the constitution and platform shall be handed to every new member."

Comment: This clause now included under Article XII. "Miscellaneous" as Section 3, where it does not belong. It is believed that all of these clauses under "Miscellaneous" should be put under the Articles to which they directly relate.

Article II, Sect. 5. New clause to be known as "e":

"e. A member in good standing of one Section shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another Section or branch of a Section, but shall not be allowed to vote."

Comment: This clause was originally in Article XII. "Miscellaneous" as Section 4. It belongs where it is now proposed to place it for the same reasons as stated above.

Article II, Sect. 6. To be amplified as follows: add the following after the words "their own members," first line, present clause:

"except in the cases of members who are national officers and national organizers, who shall be dealt with as provided under Article V, Section 6; Article VII, Sections 3 and 4; Article VIII, Section 5, and Article XI, Section 5."

Comment: This change is similar to others proposed, and it is proposed for the same reasons.

Article II, Sect. 7. It is proposed to strike out the words "its decision," eighth line from the top, for the reason that these are superfluous and to some extent misleading.

Article II, Sect. 8. With new matters to be added to this section it is proposed to subdivide it into clauses to be designated "a," "b," "c," etc. Section "a" as amended will then read:

"a. All charges must be made in writing, signed by the individual member preferring same, and must be submitted first to the Section having jurisdiction over the member in question. The charges must state briefly the nature of the offence al-

leged, but they may contain no arguments nor statements that properly may be construed as discussion of the charges. They shall be accompanied with specifications which, however, shall not be read before the Section meeting at the time the charges are filed. Charges shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated them and reported to the Section. The Grievance Committee shall deliver a copy of the charges and specifications to the accused and shall proceed to investigate the case without unreasonable delay, hearing the witnesses of both sides. Testimony by non-members shall not be permitted. A detailed report of the investigation and the findings with the recommendations of the committee shall be submitted to one of the next business meetings of the Section. The findings and recommendations to be voted on separately. The accused party shall be notified in due time by the secretary of the committee to appear at such meeting."

Comment: It is proposed to strike out the following words: "and then referred to the Grievance Committee. Charges against members shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated them and reported to the Section," these to be substituted for the underscored part included in the above. Invariably requests are received at the National Office for information pertaining to the manner in which charges ought to be introduced, considerable confusion having prevailed in the past, not only with respect to the manner of drafting charges, but also as to what they might contain and whether or not

specifications, accompanying the charges, should be read at the Section meeting at the time the charges are introduced, or at the Grievance Committee session, or at the Section meeting at which the Grievance Committee makes its report. It is believed that the proposed changes will make these matters clear and save time by the National Office. The ruling now prevails that none but Party members may be permitted to testify in Party trials, but this should be part of the constitution to eliminate doubt and to save time.

Article II, Section 8, new clause to be known as "b":

"b. After the Grievance Committee has rendered its report with its findings and recommendations the accused shall be permitted to make a statement in his or her defense not to exceed fifteen minutes. The accused shall then be required to leave the room, whereupon the Section shall decide the matter in executive session, its decision to be entered on the minutes. The minutes and all papers concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the organizer, who thereupon shall forward them to the National Office where they shall be kept in a special file. The organizer shall inform the accused in writing of such decision."

Comment: The underscored part constitutes new matter. Here, again, we are merely proposing to put into the constitution what is now the general practice and the results of rulings of the N.E.C. or the N.E.C. Sub-Committee in the past, or which is now already provided in "Robert's Rules of Order."

Article II, Sect. 8: New clauses

to be known as "c" and "d":

"c. Any member under charges who is cited to appear before the Grievance Committee, and who either refuses to appear for trial, or fails to do so for reasons not made known, or not deemed valid, shall be declared guilty in default, and shall be expelled forthwith from the organization. For the same reasons such a member shall have forfeited his right to appeal the decision of the Section."

"d. All suspensions and expulsions shall be published in the official organ of the Party, unless the National Executive Committee finds it contrary to the best interests of the Party to do so."

Comment: With regard to clause "c," this is in keeping with present procedure and in accordance with "Robert's Rules of Order." Clause "d" is proposed for the reason that at present it is made mandatory upon the National Organization to publish all suspensions and expulsions in the WEEKLY PEOPLE regardless of circumstances which might render it contrary to the best interests of the Party to do so. This proposed amendment links up with what might be called the beginning of the disruption in California and is dealt with in detail under the proper head. While we believe that in all ordinary circumstances expulsions and suspensions should be published in the official organ of the Party (unless a counter proposal might be made that all subdivisions be notified in a circular letter of all expulsions and suspensions), we are also convinced that there are circumstances (as in the California case just referred to) where it is not desirable.

Article II, Sect. 8, clause "e":

"e. No person shall participate in hearing or deciding an appeal who is a party to the proceedings."

Comment: This clause formerly was included in Article XII, Sect. 5. It belongs where it is proposed to place it now.

Article II, Sect. 9: It is proposed to strike out the following from the clause as it now reads: "Secretary or Editor who shall continue to function in their respective capacities until dealt with in accordance with Article VII, Section 3, and Article X, Section 3." And it is further proposed to substitute the following:

"officer, national organizer, and national and state conventions delegates, who shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of this constitution."

Comment: This change is proposed in order to conform to the present practice, and to conform with other changes proposed under the heads indicated by the new matter to be added.

Article II, Sect. 10: It is proposed to designate the present clause as "a," but otherwise unchanged. It is then proposed to add the following to be known as clause "b":

"b. Suspended members shall be required to pay dues (or request exemption stamps if sick or unemployed) during the period of their suspension, and shall in all other respects remain under the complete jurisdiction of their respective Sections. If at any time during the period of suspension there is evidence of such suspended member having committed breaches of Party prin-

ciples or discipline, charges may then be filed against said suspended member, and if in the judgment of the Section the facts warrant it, such suspended member may be summarily expelled, without awaiting expiration of original term of suspension."

Comment: There is no provision now in the constitution concerning this question and considerable doubt and confusion have prevailed in the past, although the N.E.C. Sub-Committee has invariably ruled along the lines of the proposed new clause. The South Slavonian Federation recently called attention to the anomaly of permitting a suspended member to serve out his period of suspension even after it had become evident that he should be expelled without further delay.

Article II, Sect. 10: New clause "c":

"c. A suspended member, upon expiration of term of suspension, shall be required to present himself at the Section business meeting next following date of expiration of suspension period, and shall thereupon be automatically reinstated, the fact of reinstatement to be recorded in the minutes of the session at which he is reinstated. If he fails thus to present himself, he shall be notified immediately by registered mail, and if he fails to present himself at a regular Section meeting within one month after date of notification (barring illness or other causes beyond his control) he shall then be dropped from the rolls without further action, provided there are no charges pending, or to be filed against him. In the event of such charges these shall be handled in accordance with Article II, Sect. 8, of

this constitution."

Comment: At the present time there is nothing in the constitution governing this point and here, too, there have been confusion and doubt with the resultant waste of time and energy.

Article II, Sect. 11: We now come to one of the most important proposed amendments. Section 11 as it now reads, and with supporting additional sections and clauses in the constitution, provides for appeals to State Executive Committees and to State membership. This in our opinion has been one of the most fruitful causes of increased or multiplied troubles in the past, with particular reference to the California disruption. If the changes that we are now proposing had been in effect when the trouble in California began, the State Executive Committee would never have become involved, and the difficulty would have been practically localized and confined to the southern Sections. Accordingly, it is proposed to strike out all of Section 11 following the word "within" now in the third line of the present section, and to substitute the part stricken out with the following:

"one month to the National Executive Committee whose decisions shall be final."

Comment: Under the revised Section 11 an individual member expelled by a Section would have to file his appeal within one month from the time of expulsion to the National Executive Committee. Under our present constitution Sections are under the direct jurisdiction of the National Organization in so far as disciplining such a Section is con-

cerned. It is logical, therefore, that all matters concerning discipline, etc., be confined to the Section administering discipline, and the National Organization which has direct jurisdiction over the disciplining Section.

It might be argued that the proposed change will load an enormous amount of work on the National Office. The answer to that is that whenever trouble arises in a Section extra work is loaded on the National Office in any case. All the papers in these cases are now forwarded to the National Office, and in all cases of importance it is necessary for the National Secretary and the N.E.C. Sub-Committee to acquaint themselves with the details anyway. Rather than adding extra work to the National Organization, the proposed change will actually minimize work for the reason that having only the Section to deal with (with the State Executive Committee and the members in the State eliminated as factors in the charges), there will be less correspondence, less confusion and, above all, less occasion for friction or disruption in the State as a whole. We repeat, with the present clause opportunities for disruption in a State as a whole, will be considerably lessened, though it is by no means argued that the new clause will entirely eliminate such difficulties. We strongly urge that this proposed change be concurred in. If the present provisions remain unchanged, it is a foregone conclusion that we will have, sooner or later, a repetition of the California trouble.

Article II, Sect. 12: It is proposed to strike out the part of this section which follows the words, in the third and fourth lines, "unless

properly reinstated," and to the end of that paragraph.

Comment: This change is proposed in order to conform with the proposed new method of handling appeals, as dealt with in the foregoing.

Article II, new Sect. 13: It is proposed to divide present Section 12 into two sections and to eliminate from present Section 12 the two paragraphs beginning, "An expelled member may be readmitted," and ending with "in the case of expelled members-at-large applying for readmission," and to substitute the following, this, then to become Section 13:

"**Sect. 13.** Anyone expelled from the Socialist Labor Party may be readmitted upon application properly made to the Section which expelled him or her. A majority vote of the members present at a Section meeting shall be required to decide the question, but if an objection is raised a two-thirds majority shall then be required. If and when the necessary approval of the expelling Section has been secured, the application shall then be submitted to the National Executive Committee, whose decision shall be final."

Comment: This is to conform with the proposed new clauses to govern procedure in cases of appeal.

Present Article II, Sect. 13, will then become Section 14. It is proposed to add to this section the following (to follow immediately after the words "so recorded in the minutes"):

"Until the name of such member has been, by formal action of the Section, stricken from the member-

ship roll, he or she shall be considered to be under the disciplinary control of the Section."

Comment: This is a question which also frequently has been submitted to the National Office for a ruling or opinion. It is felt that the prevailing practice should be embodied in the constitution in order to eliminate doubt.

Article II, present Sections 14, 15, to be renumbered Sections 15 and 16, in conformity with changes in preceding sections.

Article II, new Sect. 17. a.

"**Sect. 17. a.** Only those who have been members in good standing at least a year shall be eligible to hold office within the Section, or on a State Committee, except in the case of a new Section, and except, further, by specific approval of the National Executive Committee. At least two years' membership shall be required to qualify a member to hold any national office in the Party."

Comment: It is felt that this provision should be added to our constitution in order to make certain that thoroughly qualified and trained comrades be entrusted with important offices within the Section. As it is now, a member may be admitted today, and possibly be elected organizer tomorrow. The two years provision with respect to holding national office (by which is meant National Secretary, National Editor, N.E.C. Member, or National Convention Delegate) is deemed to be the minimum of time of membership to qualify a member for holding important offices, if, indeed, such a member in any case is qualified.

Article II, Sect. 17. b.:

"**Sect. 17. b.** No person who has not been a member for at least one year, and who has not identified himself with the Party by active participation in its work, shall be nominated as a candidate for any public office, except in the case of a new Section and only with the specific approval of the State Executive Committee or, in the absence of such, of the National Executive Committee."

Comment: This clause is now found under Article XII, Sect. 6. It belongs where it is now proposed to place it.

Article II, present Section 16 to be renumbered Section 18.

Article II, new Section 19:

"**Sect. 19.** All officers and committees of a Section, or of state and local organizations, shall be subject to removal at the will of their constituents."

Comment: Under the present constitution it is provided that organizers and other officers of a Section should be removed after the Grievance Committee has investigated the charges against him as an officer. It is felt that this is an erroneous procedure since Grievance Committees, strictly speaking, should not be required to handle anything but charges against individual members. There appears to be no good reason whatever for referring to any committee the question of removing an organizer, financial secretary, or other minor officer of a Section, since the Section as a body at all times is fully competent to deal with such questions when, as, and if they arise.

Article II, present Sections 17, 18, 19, to be renumbered Sections 20, 21, 22.

Article II, present Sections 20 and 21 to be transferred to Article IX, Sections 1 and 2.

Comment: It is proposed to add a new section dealing with members-at-large which we will come to later.

Article II, present Section 22, to be stricken out and the following to be substituted, to become known as Article II, Sect. 23:

"Sect. 23. It shall be the duty of a Party member to support the Party publications by donations and securing of subscriptions to the best of his or her ability, but no member, committee, or Section of the Party shall support any other political publications, or publications endorsed by or identified with another political party, or fraction thereof. Nor may any member donate money or services to, nor procure subscriptions for such publications."

Comment: It is felt that the present clause is vague and incomplete.

Article II, present Section 23 to be renumbered Section 24, and at the end of the present clause ending with the word "unemployed," the word "members" to be added.

Comment: The reason for the renumbering and the adding of the word "members" seem to require no comment.

Article II, present Sections 24 and 25 to be renumbered Sections 25 and 26. Strike out of present Section 25 (new Sect. 26) third line from bottom, the letters "S.E.C."

Comment: This is to conform with

the proposed change affecting members-at-large in States where we have State Committees.

Article II, present Section 26 to be renumbered Section 27, and changed as follows:

"Sect. 27. a. Wherever possible Sections shall organize study classes. These are to be under the direct supervision and control of the Section."

The words immediately following "control of the Section," and reading as follows: "and the leader of such study class shall be selected by the Section," to be stricken out. It is proposed to substitute the parts stricken out with new clause to be known as "b," reading as follows:

"b. The Section shall select the instructor of the study class and such instructor shall have full authority to conduct the class."

It is further proposed to add new clauses to be designated "c," "d," "e," "f" and "g," as follows:

"c. The study class instructor shall at all times be subject to the authority of the Section and may, at any time, be recalled by the Section.

"d. Any criticism of the conduct of the class or instructor shall be voiced on the floor of the Section meetings, and there only.

"e. Party members shall not enjoy any more privileges than non-Party members in the study class.

"f. All persons wishing to join a study class shall be required to fill out an enrolment blank furnished by the Section.

"g. No member may attend any so-called study class conducted by another organization or by a person or persons not connected with the Party. *Nor shall members attend*

courses in economics offered by schools or 'institutions of public education' of collegiate, preparatory or secondary-school rank, except in cases where such courses are prescribed, and required toward the attainment of a professional or academic degree or diploma. Nor shall a member of the Party be permitted to function as director or teacher of any so-called labor college or study class which is not under the control of the Party."

Comment: Clauses "b" to "g," accordingly, constitute new matter which it is felt is essential in order to enable our Sections to conduct their study classes strictly in keeping with Party rulings, these provisions having already been adopted by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee some time ago. The part underscored under "g" constitutes new matter inserted in the present clause, and is also the result of a recent ruling adopted by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee. This ruling was prompted by some difficulty which arose in Section Toronto where a member had enrolled in a class conducted by outside elements, wherein a course of typical capitalist economics was taught. It is believed that if such a ruling is at all proper, as we believe it to be, it should be made part of the Party's constitution.

Article III, Sect. 1, to be subdivided "a" and "b."

Article IV, Sect. 1, to be subdivided "a" and "b," and new clause "c" to be added as follows:

"c. The State Secretary shall not be a member of the State Executive Committee. He shall have a voice, but no vote, in its proceedings."

Article IV, new Sections 6 and 7 to be added:

"Sect. 6. State Committees shall issue a call for a state convention to be held at least once every two years. State conventions may be mass conventions where every member in good standing shall be considered an accredited delegate, with voice and vote. If the S.E.C. decides it is impractical to hold a mass convention, delegates shall be elected from the Sections, on the basis of one delegate for every seven members or major fraction thereof, each Section in good standing to be entitled to at least one delegate.

"Sect. 7. No charges shall be entertained against a member who has been elected by a Section to represent it as a delegate to a state convention, but the convention shall investigate these charges, and if it decides that they are groundless or frivolous, the delegate may then be seated. This provision shall not apply to mass conventions."

Comment: There is no provision in the constitution now which makes it mandatory upon a State to meet in state convention and it is believed that such a convention should be held at least once every two years, as is now generally the practice, except where a convention meets every year.

Section 7 is proposed to protect elected delegates for the same reasons that apply where attempts are made to interfere with the functioning of a National Secretary, an Editor, by preferring charges against such officers.

Article IV, new Section 8, to read as follows:

"Sect. 8. The functions of a State

Executive Committee under the Constitution and Regulations of the Party shall be exercised by the National Executive Committee where no State Executive Committee exists."

Comment: This clause is now under Article XII, Sect. 10. It belongs where it is now proposed to place it.

Article V, Sect. 3, second paragraph: Insert after the words "all members of the N.E.C." the following: "shall be members in good standing not less than two years, and," and the words "this provision" in the fourth line to be changed to "these provisions."

Comment: This change is proposed in conformity with the new clause proposed as Article II, Sect. 17. a.

Article V, Sect. 9, to read: "The sessions, regular and special, of the National Executive Committee shall convene in the city where is located the National Headquarters of the Party."

Comment: The underscored part is the new matter, to wit, "in the city where is located." Under the present provision, as literally interpreted, it is necessary for the National Executive Committee to convene at 45 Rose Street, New York City. There is no reason that we can think of why it should be mandatory for the N.E.C. to assemble at 45 Rose Street, and then adjourn to meet at some other place in New York City where N.E.C. sessions usually are held. Assuming, for example, that the N.E.C. session in a given year is to convene at the Cornish Arms Hotel, there is no reason whatever why the N.E.C., on the morning of the first

Saturday in May, could not convene at the very start at Cornish Arms Hotel—or wherever the N.E.C. session may be held in any particular year.

Article V, Sect. 10. The following to be added after the words "or hold any other national office":

"Nor shall a member of the National Executive Committee function as permanent national organizer, but he may be toured for specific purposes, and for definite periods."

Comment: This is proposed merely to settle what is now a doubtful question, though rulings have been made repeatedly by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee to the effect of the proposed amendment.

Article V, Sect. 15, clause "c," now reads: "To render final decisions in all appeals made to it where no State Organization exists." It is proposed to change it to read as follows:

"To render final decisions in all appeals made by members disciplined by a Section."

Comment: This change is proposed in order to conform to the previously proposed amendment governing procedure in appeals made by members disciplined by a Section.

Article V, Sect. 15, clause "l," now reads: "To publish in the official Party organ all expulsions and suspensions reported and all its decisions on appeals." It is proposed to eliminate this paragraph in keeping with the proposed amendment under Article II, Sect. 8, new clause "d."

Article VI, "Mileage." It is proposed to add to this Article the following, second line, after "bers": "and National Convention delegates."

Comment: The railroad fare of National Convention delegates is now defrayed out of the Mileage Fund (as per Article VIII, present Sect. 5, to become new Sect. 6) and it is an oversight that reference in Article VI is made only to N.E.C. members.

The same article now contains the following provision:

"The National Executive Committee shall bank the funds so collected in a savings bank, the same to be drawn against only immediately prior to the holding of the N.E.C. sessions and National Convention."

Comment: For practical reasons it has not been found possible or advisable to carry into effect this provision and it is believed that the Mileage Fund should be banked with the rest of the Party's funds. Therefore it is proposed to strike out this provision.

Article VII, Sect. 3. It is proposed to eliminate the present clause which now reads:

"The procedure in removing the National Secretary from office shall be the same as that provided for the removal of a member of the National Executive Committee by Article V, Sect. 6, clause b."

and to substitute it with the following to become Article VII, Sect. 3:

"Sect. 3. No charges filed against the National Secretary by the subdivision of which he is a member shall be considered until

(and) unless the provisions of Article VII, Sect. 4, have been carried out, and then only if he is removed from office."

It is proposed to add new Section 4 to Article VII, as follows:

"Sect. 4. The National Secretary may be removed upon application of at least five Sections located within at least two regions, the initiating Section to submit its application to the National Office for the necessary seconds. If sufficient seconds are received within six weeks after call for seconds has been issued by the National Office, the question shall then be submitted to the entire membership for a referendum vote."

Comment: It is in keeping with the present provision, but amplified and clarified.

Article VII, present Sections 4 and 5, to become Sections 5 and 6.

Article VIII, Sect. 1. It is proposed to increase the number of Sections required to initiate a special convention from five to ten, and to substitute regions for states. It is further proposed to leave to the discretion of the National Executive Committee the place, as well as the date, of the convention. Accordingly, it is proposed to change the following:

"A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of the convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee,"

and the following is proposed to take its place:

"The city and date of the convention shall be determined by the National Executive Committee."

Comment: It is difficult to conceive of any good reason why the N.E.C. cannot decide the place, as well as the date, of the convention. For the membership to decide by a referendum vote the place where the convention is to be held, imposes a great deal of extra work and sometimes causes delay in the ascertaining of where the convention will be held, with the consequent difficulties that such delay frequently creates.

Article VIII, Sect. 2. It is proposed to add after the word "members" in the last but next line of this section, the following: "but with one Section in good standing."

Comment: This, of course, is now the actual practice, but it should be covered in the constitution so that in the future some two or three members in a certain city where we have neither Sections nor State Committee might not arise and demand "representation" at the National Convention.

Article VIII, Sect. 3. The following to be stricken out in conformity with the proposed change under Sect. 1:

"The National Executive Committee shall call for nominations for the place of the convention six months prior to the date of same, and."

Comment: The reason for this is obvious if the proposed amendment dealt with under Sect. 1 is adopted.

Article VIII, Sect. 3. This Section to be divided into clauses "a," "b," "c," clause "a" beginning "The State Executive Committee shall call for nominations, etc." The two next paragraphs to be known as clauses "b" and "c."

Article VIII, Sect. 4. The words "not less than two years" to be substituted in the second line after the words "good standing of the Party," in place of "for one year."

Comment: This is in keeping with the amendment previously proposed.

Article VIII, new Section 5:

"Sect. 5. No charges shall be entertained against a member who has been elected delegate to a national convention, but the convention shall investigate these charges, and if it decides that they are groundless or frivolous, the delegate may then be seated."

Comment: This is also in keeping with amendments previously proposed.

Article VIII, Sections 5, 6 and 7 to be renumbered Sections 6, 7 and 8.

New Article IX to be designated "Members-at-large." It is proposed to change the article governing members-at-large entirely in keeping with other changes proposed previously with respect to the power of State Executive Committees to exercise judicial functions. The entire article composed of Sections 1, 2 and 3 follow:

"ARTICLE IX. "Members-at-large.

"Sect. 1. Members residing in states where there are no Sections may become attached to the organization as national members-at-large, paying their dues direct to the National Office, and are to be subject to the jurisdiction of the N.E.C. All decisions rendered by the N.E.C. in disputes involving national members-at-large shall be final, but

where a decision has been rendered by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, acting on behalf of the N.E.C., the latter may review the case, if it so chooses, as in the case of all other acts by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee.

"Sect. 2. Members residing in states where one or more Sections exist shall be attached to the nearest Section as Section members-at-large. Applicants for such membership-at-large shall be admitted by the N.E.C. and then transferred to whatever Section the N.E.C. may decide.

"Sect. 3. It shall be the duty of members-at-large to cooperate fully with the Section of which they are members and make an earnest effort to attend as many meetings of such Section as is compatible with their means and circumstances of employment. In states where there are State Executive Committees members-at-large shall place themselves at the disposal of the said State Executive Committees in all matters pertaining to the conduct of the agitation in the state, with particular reference to agitation that may be carried on in the locality where reside such members-at-large. To this end State Executive Committees shall be supplied with a list of the names and addresses (and other relevant information) of such members-at-large. Where from two to six members reside in one locality, they may be required to constitute themselves as a propaganda committee to work under the immediate direction of the State Executive Committee."

Comment: It is felt that all members-at-large should become out-of-town members-at-large of the nearest Section in any state where there

is one or more Sections, whether or not there is a State Executive Committee in such a state. Provision is further made for placing these members-at-large at the complete disposal of a State Executive Committee so far as agitational work is concerned, exactly as if they were members-at-large of the S.E.C. The main reason for proposing this change is to relieve State Executive Committees from all functions other than those strictly implicit in State Executive Committees, namely, furthering the agitation in the state, seeing to it that the Party gets on the ballot wherever possible, and to coordinate the activity for members in general for all normal state purposes.

Moreover, by adding out-of-town members-at-large in all states where we have organizations, we are merely broadening the intent and scope of the present clause now in the constitution as Article II, Sect. 21.

Present Article IX to become Article X.

Present Article XI, entitled "Official Party Organs," to be joined to present Article X, the new article to become Article XI and entitled "The Party Press," and to consist of Sections 1 to 8.

It is proposed to amend present Article X, Sect. 4 (new Article XI, Sect. 6) by adding the words:

"take charge of such publication and appoint an editor, pending election of a new editor by the membership of the Language Federation, or group publishing such paper."

Comment: The present provision implies that the Party would repu-

diate its own property, which seems absurd. Since all Party publications, whether English or foreign, are vested in the National Executive Committee, it seems logical for the N.E.C. to take charge of the paper if at any time it goes wrong and temporarily appoint a new editor if the old editor proves faithless or incompetent.

It is proposed to add the following clause to become Article XI, Sect. 5:

"In case of vacancy in the office of Editor of the Party's official organ the National Executive Committee shall temporarily fill the said office pending election of new Editor by the Party membership."

It is proposed to renumber present Article XIII, to become Article XII, in order to leave the Article now designated "Miscellaneous" as the last Article in the constitution. The latter then would become Article XIII. The present Article XIII, Sect. 1, to be amended by substituting the figure 10 for the present figure 8.

Comment: The Federations now pay into the national treasury eight cents per dues stamp purchased, which seems an amount quite disproportionate to the amount paid by State Executive Committees which pay twenty-five cents into the national treasury. It is recognized, of course, that Federations have their own special problems, but in a large measure so have the State Executive Committees. The income from the sale of dues stamps at present is not sufficient to take care of the regular expenses of the National Office, other reserve funds invariably hav-

ing been drawn upon at the close of the year in order to cover the deficit. The proposed increase in per capita tax in the Federations would help somewhat to take care of the deficit, though it might not fully cover it.

Present Article XIII (proposed to become Article XII), Sect. 5, now reads:

"The S.L.P. shall have full jurisdiction over all properties of the Federations, as with all other subdivisions of the Party, without responsibility for any indebtedness incurred by the Federations."

It is proposed to amend this by striking out the words "The S.L.P. shall have full jurisdiction over all properties of the Federations," and substitute the following:

"All equipments, including machinery, office equipment, real estate, and all other things of value, which are held in custody by the Language Federations, shall be the property of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, which at all times shall have full jurisdiction over such properties."

This proposed change is self-explanatory.

Present Article XII (proposed to become Article XIII), "Miscellaneous," to be changed or adjusted as follows: Section 1 to be designated "a" and "b." It is proposed to strike out the word "forthwith" in the second paragraph of the present Section and to substitute for it the following:

"at the earliest possible moment."

Sections 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 to be transferred to their respective Ar-

ticles as provided in previously proposed amendments. Present Sections 7, 8 and 9, accordingly, to become 2, 3 and 4. Present Section 10 to be transferred under the proper Article in keeping with previously proposed amendment. Section 11, accordingly, to become Section 5. Section 12 to be eliminated in keeping with previously proposed amendments. Sections 13 and 14 to be renumbered Sections 6 and 7. New Section 8 is proposed as follows:

"Sect. 8. All organizers employed by the National Organization shall be under the complete control and jurisdiction of the National Executive Committee. No charges shall be entertained against a national organizer, unless, or until, he has been previously removed by the N.E.C."

Present Section 15 to be renumbered Section 9.

State of Organization.

CALIFORNIA.

In the State of California we have five Sections as follows: Hawthorne, Los Angeles, Oakland, Santa Clara County, and San Francisco. A great deal of agitation had been done in California during the last four years with the splendid assistance of Comrades Eric Hass and Mack Johnson who were toured up and down the Pacific Coast as national organizers. A great deal more could and would have been done, and the Sections strengthened and built up, but for the disruption which the state as a whole just passed through. The disruptive state secretary and the disruptive majority on the old S.E.C. succeeded in undoing a good deal of the work that had been accomplished

during the last couple of years. Even so, the movement is in a healthy shape as a whole and with excellent prospects of adding good, sound membership material in the near future. It is planned to continue one or more organizers on the road in California and adjacent Pacific Coast states.

There are twenty-five members-at-large in the state, and we have Bulgarian, Hungarian and South Slavonian Branches in Los Angeles, and a Hungarian Branch in San Francisco.

There is a study class in Section Oakland, one in Hawthorne, one in Los Angeles, one in Section San Francisco, and three study classes conducted under the jurisdiction of the State Executive Committee.

Getting on the Ballot.

For several months the possibilities of getting on the ballot in California this coming campaign have been thoroughly explored, but it is with regret that we must report that it is a physical impossibility to accomplish this very desirable end. It will require between five and six thousand dollars in order to get the necessary number of signatures and to comply with the other requirements involving financial expenditures in the state.

CANADA.

Whereas in 1932 we only had one Section in Canada, we now have five Sections, as follows: East York, Hamilton, London, Montreal and Toronto. We did have seven Sections up to a few months ago, but two of them, North York and Vancouver, lapsed. In Vancouver the lapse is only temporary, for there is splendid material available for a

Section. Meanwhile a study class has been started in Vancouver, which, to all intents and purposes, will function as a Section as far as carrying on agitation, holding meetings, etc., is concerned, and it is expected that in a short time we shall have a Section numerically strong and sound on principles, which will carry on the work among workers in that vicinity.

The prospects for building up a strong national S.L.P. movement in Canada are very good. Our Executive Sub-Committee in Toronto (which to all intents and purposes functions as a State Executive Committee in the states) is keeping an eye open for all possibilities. This committee has from time to time printed leaflets for distribution and in a general way directed the agitation throughout the country with excellent results.

In Canada we have twenty-four national members-at-large scattered throughout the Dominion, and the following Language Federation Branches: Bulgarian and South Slavonian Branches in Hamilton, and a Bulgarian Branch in Toronto.

Sections Hamilton and London each have a study class and Section Montreal has two study classes.

COLORADO

In the State of Colorado we still have only one Section, namely, Denver, which, however, is carrying on excellent work. There are a few members-at-large in the state. Repeated inquiries from different parts of Colorado indicate that there are good possibilities for building up a statewide S.L.P. movement if we could put an organizer in the field long enough. Unfortunately, Den-

ver is so situated that it is difficult to reach either from the East or from the West. Comrade Hass has made a stop at Denver on his recent tour East, and on the basis of his report of the conditions we may be able to formulate definite plans for building up one or two additional Sections in the state.

There is a study class in Denver.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state only 500 signatures are required to get on the ballot and it is certain that we shall be on the ballot in Colorado. The vote cast in 1928 was 313, and in 1932 the number was 427.

CONNECTICUT.

In Connecticut we have five Sections as follows: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, New London and South Norwalk. A good deal of work has been accomplished in the state during the last year or two through the special efforts of Comrades Borden and Simon who have spent several months on the road as state organizers. The Sections, on the whole, are doing excellent work, and there is every indication that we shall be able to build a strong S.L.P. movement in Connecticut.

As you know, we had considerable trouble in Bridgeport a little over a year ago which, however, was definitely settled, with the disrupters going the way of their kind—i.e., showing their moral turpitude by joining with the enemies of the Party before they were barely out of the organization.

There are four members-at-large in Connecticut, and we have Hungarian Branches in Bridgeport and South Norwalk.

There is a study class in Bridgeport, one in Hartford, one in South Norwalk, and two in New Haven.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state one per cent of the total vote cast in the previous Presidential election is required in order that the Party may get on the ballot by petition. The state secretary reports that as far as is known no financial assistance is required from the National Office, which may be taken to mean that there will be no question about our being on the ballot in Connecticut this campaign.

The State of Connecticut is distinguished by reason of the fact that it was the only state in the Union where the S.L.P. succeeded in becoming an official party. This happened in the election of 1934. It does not appear, however, that this will help us much in this national campaign, seeing that the official party status applies only to state officers. However, it was quite an accomplishment for our Connecticut comrades to make the Socialist Labor Party an official party in their state, although the loud-mouthed, sensationalizing Communist party failed in this respect.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

We have a hustling Section in the nation's capital which, however, is greatly hampered by reason of its being located in the territory where the "industry" is almost exclusively politics. Nevertheless, the Section has been able to carry on splendid agitation and is ever eager and ready to arrange lectures for speakers from out of town, even as far away as New York City. The Section is conducting a study class.

The problem of getting on the

ballot in the District of Columbia is solved for us by virtue of the fact that there is no ballot there, the citizenry being disfranchised.

IDAHO.

We have a few members-at-large in this state, but the conditions for getting on the ballot are probably insurmountable this year. Nevertheless, the matter is being looked into and every effort will be made to place the ticket in the field.

ILLINOIS.

In the State of Illinois we have eight Sections as follows: Belleville, Cook County, East St. Louis, Fulton County, Granite City, Peoria, Rockford and Waukegan. The largest of these, of course, is Cook County, where excellent work has been done during the past few years. A considerable number of young, promising members have been added to the roll in Chicago. The Sections in the coal field district have, of course, suffered considerably, partly because of the misery prevalent among the miners, and partly because of the warfare that has been carried on now for a number of years between rival "unions." Even so, our Sections have managed to keep the S.L.P. banner floating and have carried on under most adverse circumstances to the best of their ability.

There are six members-at-large in the state and we have the following Federation Branches: Bulgarian Branches in Chicago, Granite City, Madison, Waukegan and Zeigler; South Slavonian Branches in Bellwood and Chicago.

We have Weekly People Clubs in Granite City, Peoria and Waukegan, all of which are doing excellent

work by way of arranging socials, etc., and otherwise raising funds for the support of our official organ — which is the reason for their existence.

There is a study class in each of the following places: Belleville, Granite City and Waukegan, and two each in East St. Louis, Peoria and Cook County.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state a total number of 25,000 signatures is required to get on the ballot. Not less than 200 must be gathered in each of the fifty counties. The state will require financial assistance from the National Office to the amount of approximately two hundred or three hundred dollars. The vote polled in 1928 was 1,812, and in 1932, 3,638.

INDIANA.

In the State of Indiana we have now four Sections as follows: Evansville, Fort Wayne, Indianapolis and South Bend. All but one of these are in excellent working order. The exception is South Bend which recently decided that it had better disband. Inasmuch as the Section had more than the required minimum in point of membership, the Section was ordered to reverse its decision and to continue until a decision could be reached as to what should be done. There is absolutely no excuse for not continuing as a Section. Our alert State Committee, through its secretary, Comrade Wise, is planning to do some intensive work in South Bend with a view to building up the Section and incidentally to teach the comrades how to carry on activities even under what, to them, may seem adverse circumstances.

There are nine members-at-large in the state and the following Language Federation Branches: Bulgarian Branches in Fort Wayne and Gary; and South Slavonian Branches in East Chicago and Gary.

We have a Weekly People Club in Fort Wayne, and a study class each in Evansville, Fort Wayne and Indianapolis.

Getting on the Ballot.

Approximately 8,000 signatures are required to get on the ballot in the State of Indiana and the comrades expect to secure these signatures with little, if any, help from the National Office. The vote in 1928 was 645, and in 1932, 2,070.

IOWA.

While as yet we have no Section in Iowa, we have a number of members-at-large in the state. Good work has been carried on in Clinton and Des Moines. In the former city Comrade Henry Svendsen, a typical S.L.P. veteran, "holds the fort," and whenever organizers pass through, or come near Clinton, he never misses an opportunity to arrange meetings. In Des Moines Comrade Waitz has been doing some excellent work during the last few years. Unfortunately, his circumstances are such that he cannot give as much time to S. L. P. work as he would like to. If it were possible to maintain an organizer in Iowa for a sufficiently long time it is a certainty that we should be able to organize two or three Sections in this state.

Getting on the Ballot.

We were on the ballot in this state in 1928, but by 1932 changes had been made which made it impossible for us to get on the ballot. Strenuous

efforts will be made this year to get on the ballot, and although we no longer have a Section in Clinton, we have members-at-large scattered throughout the state as stated above, with good nuclei in Clinton and Des Moines. In 1928, 230 votes were cast for the S.L.P. in this state.

KENTUCKY.

In Kentucky Section Louisville continues to "hold the fort" with prospects, however, of being supplemented by a Section in the near future in the Covington district. This latter district has been covered with agitation during the last few years by our Section in Cincinnati, which is within a comparatively easy distance of it. We have several members-at-large in Covington now. In Louisville good work has been carried on by the Section alone, as well as with the assistance of Comrade Campbell who for quite some time resided in that city.

There are no Language Federation Branches in this state.

Getting on the Ballot.

There appears to be no question about our getting on the ballot in the State of Kentucky, for about 1,000 signatures are required, which may be gathered in any part of the state. In 1928 we polled 338 votes, and 1,396 in 1932. With the group in Covington, Ky., to assist us this year, it should be possible to increase this vote.

MAINE.

We have as yet been unable to organize a Section in the State of Maine, though at one time there appeared to be good prospects of doing so in the City of Portland. With

one or two more members in that city, we should be able to build a Section. Comrade Max Sprague, member-at-large, had planned to move to Portland. If his plans had materialized, it would have given impetus to our efforts with respect to organizing a Section there. Comrade Aiken visited Maine a couple of times during the last few years and if he could have been kept there longer, there is no doubt that one or two Sections would have materialized.

There are no Language Federation Branches in this state.

Getting on the Ballot.

A thousand signatures are required to get on the ballot in Maine. In 1932 we had a Section at Thomaston which gave us enough members to fill the electoral ticket. The membership is scattered this year. Every effort will be made to get on the ballot in Maine. In 1924 (which was the last time previous to 1932 the Party was on the ballot) we polled 406 votes, and in 1932, 255.

MARYLAND.

In the State of Maryland we have one Section now, namely, in the City of Baltimore. During the last year or two we maintained what nominally was called Section Cumberland, but it was considerably undermanned. The three or four comrades who were left after the Section practically lapsed a few years ago continued to carry on as an organized unit in the hope that sufficient members would be added to enable it to carry on as a regular Section. Failing in this, the remaining members have now transferred as members-at-large of Section Baltimore. They will, however, continue to

carry on as an organized unit under the immediate supervision of Section Baltimore.

There are no Language Federation Branches in Maryland.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state the Party is known as the Labor Party due to legal restrictions. Two thousand signatures are required to get on the ballot and barring unforeseen developments these will be gathered. In this state we polled 906 votes in 1928, and 1,036 in 1932.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Massachusetts we have five Sections as follows: Boston, Hampden County, Lynn, Salem and Waltham. We did have a Section in Pittsfield which recently lapsed. The Section there was weak to start with, but it was hoped that it could be built up. That hope, however, did not materialize. We have several members-at-large, and with one or two additional members it would be an easy matter to build up and maintain a Section there.

Good work is being carried on in this state throughout the year, and, with the exception of Salem, all the other Sections are in a healthy condition. Special attention has been given, and will be given to Salem in the near future. The comrades who are "holding the fort" there are eager and enthusiastic, but it has been found difficult to attract additional membership material to enable the Section to function as it really should.

There are sixteen members-at-large in Massachusetts, but no Language Federation Branches.

We have Weekly People Clubs in Boston and Lynn, and a study class

in each of the following Sections: Boston, Lynn and Waltham.

Getting on the Ballot.

Unless the law has been changed in this state since 1932, there will be no question about our getting on the ballot in Massachusetts. In 1928 we polled 773 votes, and 2,668 votes in 1932.

MICHIGAN.

In the State of Michigan we have now two Sections: Jackson and Wayne County. Wayne County, strictly speaking, however, is really made up of three Sections which combined for reasons of efficiency. Technically, however, there are two Sections. We did have a Section in Lansing which lapsed recently. The S.E.C. is keeping its eye on opportunities for reorganizing this and other Sections in the state where agitation has been carried on for many years. There is an excellent opportunity in Kalamazoo for a Section, and without a doubt we shall witness the organizing of several Sections in Michigan before long. Section Wayne County is in a first class condition, doing excellent work and in a well organized manner.

There are eighteen members-at-large in the State of Michigan and the following Language Federation Branches: Bulgarian, Hungarian and South Slavonian Branches in Detroit; South Slavonian Branches in Hamtramck and Monroe.

There is a Weekly People Club in the Highland Park Branch of Section Wayne County, and three study classes conducted by the Section, and two study classes are conducted under the supervision of the S.E.C.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state it is also compara-

tively easy for the Party to get on the ballot and, here again, unless the law has been changed we shall get on the ballot without fail. In 1928 we polled 799 votes, and 1,401 in 1932.

MINNESOTA.

In the State of Minnesota we have five Sections as follows: Alborn, Duluth, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Winona. Section Duluth is the latest arrival and it is a pleasure to say that it has been doing and is still doing excellent work. The other Sections are also carrying on persistently, though they are not showing any marked growth. Section St. Paul did improve considerably as a result of the work done there by Comrade Campbell who toured the state several times.

There are nine members-at-large in the state, and we have a Bulgarian Branch in Minneapolis.

Sections Alborn, Duluth and Minneapolis each conduct a study class.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state the Party goes on the ballot under the name of "Industrial Party" with the initials S.L.P. in brackets. Two thousand signatures are needed to get on the ballot and the state will require financial assistance from the National Office. In 1928 we polled 1,921 votes, and 770 in 1932.

MISSOURI.

There are two Sections in this state, namely, Kansas City and St. Louis. Both these Sections are doing good work. From time to time efforts have been made to get Sections organized in other parts of the state, particularly in St. Joseph, but so far without any success. We have

a member-at-large in St. Joseph who is an out-of-town member of Section Kansas City.

We have a Weekly People Club in St. Louis, and Bulgarian, Hungarian and South Slavonian Branches in St. Louis.

Getting on the Ballot.

Comrade Cox reports that we shall have no difficulty in getting on the ballot in Missouri. In 1928 we polled 340 votes, and in 1932, 404.

NEW JERSEY.

In the State of New Jersey we have three Sections as follows: Essex County, Hudson County and Passaic County. Repeated and strenuous efforts have been made to organize Sections in some of the other large or good-sized towns in the state, but without success. Special attention has been devoted to the large industrial city of Elizabeth, and to the smaller city of New Brunswick. Comrade Bopp has been toured on various occasions through the state with excellent results. In the city of Camden there appeared to be good opportunities for organizing a Section. The S.P., as in so many other places, had split and several of the members seemed to offer promising material. So far, however, nothing has been produced in that line.

There are eleven members-at-large in this state, and a South Slavonian Branch in Hoboken. There is also a study class in Section Essex County.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state 1,000 signatures are needed to get on the ballot which it will not be difficult to gather. They may be secured in any part of the state. In 1928 we polled 500 votes

in this state, and 1,062 in 1932.

NEW YORK.

In the State of New York we have thirteen Sections as follows: Bronx, Broome Co., Buffalo, Jamestown, Kings Co., Lackawanna, Monroe Co., Montgomery Co., New York, Oneida Co., Onondaga Co., Orange Co. and Rensselaer Co. We did have a Section in Westchester County up to a few months ago, but the Section had been in a state of dissolution for some time. Finally it lapsed and the remaining members have been transferred as members-at-large. Most of the Sections in the state are doing splendid work with the State Committee constantly on the lookout for opportunities to spread the Party's message in territories where we have no Sections. Repeatedly the State Committee has toured organizers through different parts of the state.

There are seventeen members-at-large in the State of New York, and the following Language Federation Branches: Bulgarian Branches in Akron, Cleveland, Lorain, Mansfield and Toledo; Hungarian Branches in Akron, Cleveland, Lorain and Toledo; South Slavonian Branches in Akron, Canton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Steubenville and Youngstown.

Three study classes are conducted by the Sections in Greater New York, and one in each of the following Sections: Broome Co., Jamestown, Monroe Co., Onondaga Co., Orange County, and Rensselaer County; also three classes conducted under the supervision of the State Executive Committee.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state a minimum of 12,000 signatures are needed to get on the ballot, with not less than fifty in each of the sixty counties. As the

State of New York has never failed in getting on the ballot, there is no reason to anticipate failure this year. In 1928 the vote cast for the Party was 4,211, and 10,339 in 1932. (Since this was written, information has been received which seems to indicate that we may have a major problem on our hands in getting on the ballot in New York State.)

OHIO.

In this state we have eleven Sections, most of which are doing splendid work. They are: Akron, Barberton, Canton, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Hamilton County, Lorain, Lucas Co., Salem and Youngstown. Sections Barberton, Columbus and Lucas County are in need of new members who it is hoped will be added as a result of the campaign activities during the summer.

There are three members-at-large in Ohio, and the following Language Federation Branches: Bulgarian Branches in Akron, Cleveland, Lorain, Mansfield and Toledo; Hungarian Branches in Akron, Cleveland, Lorain and Toledo; South Slavonian Branches in Akron, Canton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Steubenville and Youngstown.

We have Weekly People Clubs in Akron, Cleveland, Lorain, Mansfield and Salem, and study classes in the following Sections: three in Hamilton Co., two each in Akron, Cleveland and Dayton, and one each in Canton, Columbus, Salem, Youngstown and Lucas County.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state, due to election law restrictions, the Party appears on the ballot as the "Social Labor Party." Twenty-two thousand signatures are required to get on the bal-

lot. It is expected that these will be gathered. In 1928, 1,515 votes were cast for the Party, and 1,968 votes were cast in 1932.

OKLAHOMA.

In the State of Oklahoma intensive work has been carried on during the last couple of years. We have a number of members-at-large in the state with prospects of organizing a Section in the near future. At present Comrade Reynolds has located there and contingent upon his being able to make a living in the state, he will exert every effort possible to increase the membership and organize study classes and Sections in the state. Comrade Quinn has also toured the state. The S.P. in Oklahoma is in process of dissolution, the usual contending factions doing their best to expose the outfit as a whole. It is a question how much of this material can be made to serve the purpose of S.L.P. organization, but, of course, we shall salvage what we can for the Party.

There is a study class in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state 5,000 signatures are required to get on the ballot and these are now being collected by the members in the state, aided by Comrade Reynolds. It is by no means certain that we shall be able to collect the 5,000 signatures within the time limit fixed by law. Strenuous efforts, however, will be made to get on the ballot. Our membership is enthusiastic about the idea of the Party appearing on the ballot in Oklahoma for the first time in its history. Due to the fact that the Socialist party has preempted the designation "Socialist," it will be

necessary to appear under another designation, which the N.E.C. Subcommittee decided should be "Industrial Labor Party."

OREGON.

We have four Sections in this state as follows: Astoria, Bend, Klamath Falls and Portland. Sections Astoria and Bend need strength, though both are still carrying on under somewhat adverse circumstances. Section Portland is doing excellent work and at the moment of preparing this report is conducting a radio broadcast series. The Section cooperates frequently with its neighboring Section in Washington, namely, Vancouver.

There are two members-at-large in Oregon and a Bulgarian Branch in Portland, and we have study classes in Bend, Klamath Falls and Portland.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state upward of 15,000 signatures are required which may be gathered from any part of the state. Our state secretary informs us that "it is probable that we shall get on the ballot without assistance from the National Office." We sincerely hope that this will be so, but in any case every effort will be made to get on the ballot without fail. In 1928 we polled 1,564 votes in this state, and 1,730 in 1932.

PENNSYLVANIA.

We have witnessed a magnificent growth in this state during the last four years. Whereas in 1932 we only had two Sections, we now have eight Sections, and until recently there were nine. Section Wilkes-Barre was compelled recently to disband. The remaining comrades,

however, will carry on as an organized group under the supervision of the S.E.C. The state convention, which was recently held, was attended by our national organizer, Comrade Quinn. The convention was reported a huge success, certifying to a splendid spirit and an active and aggressive membership.

The eight Sections in the state are the following: Beaver Co., Blair Co., Erie, Greensburg, McKeesport, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Reading.

There are eighteen members-at-large in Pennsylvania and South Slavonian Branches in Luzerne and Philadelphia.

Two study classes are conducted under the supervision of the State Executive Committee, and there is a study class in each of the following Sections: Erie, Greensburg, McKeesport, Pittsburgh, Reading and Blair County.

Getting on the Ballot.

In 1932 the Party appeared on the ballot as "The Industrialist Party," and in 1934 as "The Industrial Party," but apparently this year it will be necessary to choose another designation in order to conform with provisions of the election law. About 10,000 signatures are needed to get on the ballot in this state. Apparently there is no question about our getting on the ballot in Pennsylvania. In 1928 we polled 380 votes and 659 votes in 1932.

RHODE ISLAND.

In the State of Rhode Island we have one Section, namely, Providence, though up to a few months ago we maintained a Section at Newport. Unfortunately, it became nec-

essary to disband this Section. Recently one of the active S.L.P. members in that vicinity met with an untimely end through drowning. Comrade Bolender was a splendid type of the newer membership material that has been attracted to the Party during the last seven or eight years. His loss will be keenly felt by his comrades in Rhode Island.

There are four members-at-large in the State of Rhode Island.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state the comrades expect to place a full ticket in the field. About 500 signatures are required. The state will need assistance from the National Office. In 1928 we polled 416 votes for the Party's program, and 360 in 1932.

VIRGINIA.

In the State of Virginia we now have a Section at Newport News. There appear to be good prospects for organizing another Section at Richmond, but as yet only slow progress toward concrete organization has been made. Our Washington (D.C.) comrades, however, are watching the possibilities closely and it is planned to hold meetings with speakers from Washington as often as possible.

Tentatively a study class has been organized.

We have a few members-at-large in Virginia, but no Language Federation Branches.

Getting on the Ballot.

At the present writing there is some doubt as to whether we shall be able to appear on the ballot in this state, but every effort will be made to achieve this end. We did not appear on the ballot in Virginia in 1932.

WASHINGTON.

Considerable progress has been made in Washington during the last four years. In 1932 two Sections only were reported. We now have seven Sections in the state as follows: Everett, Longview, Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma, Vancouver and White Salmon. All these Sections are giving good accounts of themselves. There are four members-at-large in the state, but no Federation Branches.

There is a Weekly People Club in Seattle, and a study class in each of the following Sections: Everett, Longview, Tacoma and Vancouver.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state we shall appear on the ballot without any question. In 1928 about 4,000 votes were polled by the Party, and 1,009 in 1932.

WISCONSIN.

In the State of Wisconsin we now have two Sections, namely, Madison and Milwaukee. We did have a Section at Oshkosh which, however, was compelled to disband recently. Splendid work has been carried on by our comrades in Wisconsin during the past four years, with national organizers occasionally being toured through the state.

There are eight members-at-large in Wisconsin, and the Bulgarian and South Slavonian Branches in Milwaukee. There is a study class in Milwaukee.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state the Party appears on the ballot as the Social Labor Party. According to present information, 1,000 signatures are needed for each of the thirteen electors. Apparently there is no question about our appearing on the ballot

this year. In 1928 we polled 381 votes in this state, and 494 were polled in 1932.

Language Federations.

We are herewith submitting reports from the Language Federations of the Party, together with a brief report submitted by Comrade P. Coroneos, secretary of our Greek S.L.P. movement. All our Federations appear to be in a better shape than ever, and particularly so the Bulgarian and South Slavonian Federations. The reports follow:

REPORT OF THE BULGARIAN FEDERATION.

"To the Nineteenth National Convention,
"Socialist Labor Party.

"Dear Comrades:

"In reviewing the standing and activities of the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation for the preceding four years, it may be noted at the outset that, while in point of figures or numbers the results of its various activities far from justify the efforts made, still some healthy and highly encouraging progress has been made both as to quality and quantity.

"Due to the unprecedented unemployment and general apathy following the advent of the so-called depression, the condition of the organization had grown from bad to worse for a number of years, and by the end of 1932 it seemed highly doubtful whether we could hold out much longer without resorting to some serious retrenchments which might seriously cripple the organization for a long time to come. Unemployment took such proportions

that, judging by the exemptions furnished, at least one-third of the members were totally unemployed throughout the year, which, of course, does not mean that all the others were totally employed. Procuring the necessary means for the upkeep of the organization had become a very hard task. And to make it still worse, whatever reserves we had were completely exhausted by this time. In short, it looked really blue at the time. However, just as the darkest hour marks the turning point in the night, so also the time thought to be the darkest for the organization marked the turning point.

"It may be observed, however, that under the circumstances it is highly questionable whether, in ordinary times, we could have pulled through. Fortunately, however, these were not ordinary times, in fact, very extraordinary times. The rapidly increasing evidence that the capitalist system is done for; the utter bankruptcy of all so-called labor organizations, as evidenced by the increasing reactionary activities; the ever increasing interest of an ever greater number of workers in the teaching of the Party's principles, along with ever increasing evidence of their appreciating the Party's logical program—all of this has kept reacting upon the membership, constantly encouraging and urging them to exert ever greater efforts. And in time, in the measure that efforts increased, the seemingly insurmountability of the problems confronting us decreased, the membership having realized that these problems can, because they must, be solved.

"The following year, or even the following years, while the unem-

ployment situation remained practically the same, at least as far as the membership was concerned, judging by the exemptions furnished, the condition of the organization kept on improving, taking ever greater strides. This can best be shown by the collections taken at the conventions, which have progressed as follows: 1932: \$759.96; 1933: \$1,908.11; 1934: \$3,029.34; and 1935: \$5,606.93. Thus, the gloomy picture of 1932 was soon pushed aside, an ever brighter one taking its place. Gradually the 'lost' ground was regained, and no thought of retrenchment can any longer be entertained. All this simply shows that the membership is capable of accomplishing what the organization requires, once they realize the necessity and rise to the occasion.

"It is remarkable, however, that with all the ups and downs, the membership has remained practically intact. Having commenced the period reported with 22 Branches and a total membership of 370, we now have 23 Branches and a total membership of 357, as per the report for the fiscal year of 1935. Due to shifting of members in search of work, four Branches have lapsed, viz., Benton and Frankfort Heights, Ill.; Pontiac, Mich.; and Indianapolis, Ind. But then five new Branches have been organized, viz., Toronto and Hamilton, Ontario; New York City; Waukegan, Ill.; and Minneapolis, Minn. The rest of the Branches we now have are located as follows: Detroit, Mich; Toledo, Akron, Cleveland, Mansfield, Lorain, Ohio; Chicago, Zeigler, Granite City, Madison, Ill.; Fort Wayne and Gary, Ind.; Syracuse and Lackawanna, N.Y.; St. Louis, Mo.; Mil-

waukee, Wis.; Los Angeles, Calif.; and Portland, Ore. In the course of four years new members admitted, 125, dropped 97, expelled 13, left the organization 10, left for the old country 14, and died 4. Of the present members 235 are reported to have become naturalized citizens.

"The financial standing of the Federation, as per balance sheet of November 16, last, is as follows: Cash on hand, \$1,147.24; machinery and equipment, \$3,051.99; library and fixtures, \$536.70; stock, \$3,108.55; accounts receivable, \$1,064.82; and real estate, \$9,845.43; total, \$18,754.73. Receipts and expenditures for the four years ending November 16 last: Cash on hand from 1931, \$3,621.98; receipts, \$30,866.03; expenditures, \$33,340.77; cash on hand November 16, \$1,147.24; collection for the various funds, \$21,126.69.

"For the period reported: Dues stamps purchased, 10,750, and exemption stamps received, 4,100.

"Having been badly situated in 1932, as described above, not much could be done for the Campaign Fund. All we could do was contribute to the extent of \$2,323.11, which is a little over \$3,000 short of our share in the previous campaign. This time, however, we propose to make up for that shortage; and, judging by the spirit at the recent convention of the Federation, there will be no lack of efforts to that end, to say the least. At any rate, even with that marked lagging behind in the Campaign Fund of 1932, still the National Office was assisted financially to the extent of \$7,011.09, collected for various Party funds, etc.

"As you will note, we still have on our hands the property in the

city of Detroit. The efforts made so far to dispose of it have been without success. In the spring of 1933 the National Office had arranged for it to be sold at public auction. It so happened, however, that as soon as the arrangements were completed, the so-called 'bank holiday' struck the state of Michigan. Of course, the plans had to be abandoned, since it was useless to attempt to sell property then or for some time to come. So far no other attempt of the kind has been made. Last year a real estate concern in Detroit offered to sell it for us, suggesting that there might be prospects. It was listed with them, but so far nothing has been heard of. However, the last two years we have succeeded in renting space for a small amount, just about enough to cover the taxes.

"The figures above, as stated at the very beginning, far from do justice to the efforts made these four years. While the first two years we could hardly manage to tour one organizer part of the time, the past two years two organizers have been toured most of the time. And last year, being the 25th anniversary both of the Federation and its official organ, *Rabotnicheska Prosveta*, two special issues of the latter were got out, twice the regular size, and distributed in almost twice the regular circulation. All this agitation will have its effect in due time. In fact, it is already showing telling results. The proteges of the Third International are now thoroughly discredited and are rapidly losing ground among the Bulgarians. For a number of years, with the assistance of prominent Bulgarians under the wing of the Third International,

they succeeded in making quite a racket, thereby distracting the attention of decent workers from the revolutionary movement. While they could do no harm to the organization directly, with all their viciousness and villainy, they succeeded in perverting a number of honest workers, polluted the minds of many others and caused a good many others to get disgusted with the labor movement, and thus to a great extent hindered the progress of our organization. Perhaps that was their mission. At any rate, due to the lashing they have got these many years, they stand now discredited and their usefulness to do harm to the movement may soon come to an end. Now they are going to organize anybody and everybody in a 'huge united front' for the purpose of doing anything under the sun, outside of abolishing capitalism. This, perhaps, will sooner bring them to the end of their nasty career and thereby clear the field for the revolutionary movement among the Bulgarian workers.

"Fraternally submitted,
"Theo. Baeff,
"Secretary.

"Granite City, Ill.,
"April 2, 1936."

REPORT OF THE HUNGARIAN FEDERATION.

"March 25, 1936.

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"The year of 1935 was a banner year for the Hungarian S.L.P., as it was the 25th anniversary of *A Munkas* and of the Federation. There were celebrations in the Branches which served a double pur-

pose: making known the S.L.P. principles and securing funds for our paper. Our Branch in Cleveland, Ohio, celebrated two anniversaries, that of the Federation, and its own 42nd anniversary as a Hungarian Branch of the Socialist Labor Party.

"Through the anniversaries, our press fund received a considerable sum which has enabled the Federation to publish *A Munkas* since November 3, 1934, again as a weekly, and to stay out of the red.

"An interesting incident occurred last year in connection with our celebrations. A newly organized Branch in St. Louis, Mo., had an anniversary entertainment and presented the proletarian drama, 'The End of the Song,' by our late Comrade Koeppel. The local Hungarian Roman Catholic priest publicly denounced the play as anti-religious—although he did not see it—and announced in the local press that those who acted in it were godless and would be excommunicated from the church at the holy altar the following Sunday. The joker in this is that at the publicly announced time and church, the priest had nobody to excommunicate as the sympathizer who acted in the play, although a Catholic, was not really a member of the church but only had been in its club, from which he had already resigned, after coming in contact with S.L.P. literature. The priest also threatened the owners of the hall where the play was presented that never would he cross the threshold of such a sacrilegious place—if they would dare to sublet the hall to the S.L.P. Much to the credit of the owners of the hall, they publicly rebuffed the priest for his impertinence.

"The Federation did not have any

paid organizer in the field last year but intends to put at least one permanently in the field in the coming national campaign.

"We admitted 24 new members last year; 3 were dropped; 6 resigned; 2 transferred to the Sections. We had a total of 140 members at the end of 1935. One Branch in Toledo, Ohio, collapsed; one Branch was organized last October in St. Louis, Mo. We have Branches in the following cities: Akron, Cleveland, Lorain, Ohio; Bridgeport and South Norwalk, Conn.; Detroit, Mich.; Los Angeles and San Francisco, Calif.; New York, N.Y.; St. Louis, Mo.

"The sales of dues stamps were: 1,158, 189 exemption, in 1935, a total of 1,347; 1,130, 194 exemption, in 1934, a total of 1,324; 1,132, 419 exemption, in 1933, a total of 1,551; 1,038, 398 exemption, in 1932, a total of 1,436.

"This is an average of 126 members per year; therefore, at the present time the membership is above the average for the last four years.

"There are Women's A Munkas Guards, organized in the manner of Weekly People Clubs, in Akron, Bridgeport, Cleveland, Detroit and New York. The membership in these Guards is about 60. They co-operate with the Branches and Sections in Party activities, hold bazaars and arrange entertainments. They have their own by-laws and sets of officers and are under the supervision of the Branches.

"The financial condition is also somewhat above the average. Our total income was \$5,871.55 in 1934; \$6,831.20 in 1935.

"The sale of subscriptions and donations for *A Munkas* were:

"Subscriptions: 1935, \$1,628.37; 1934, \$1,737.30; 1933, \$1,513.99; 1932, \$1,970.48.

"Donations: 1935, \$2,850.06; 1934, \$2,126.21; 1933, \$1,095.30; 1932, \$970.27.

"Out of the red in 1935, we had a cash balance of \$377.37 at the end of the year. We published last year a 32-page 'First of May' magazine in 1,500 copies; 'The Poniard's Hilt,' sixth volume of Sue's 'Mysteries of the People,' in 1,000 copies; Lafargue's 'The Evolution of Property' in 1,000 copies, and 9,000 copies of S.L.P. leaflets.

"The membership is always on the alert, ever ready to act to spread the S.L.P. principles among the Hungarian workers. In this work we have to combat the usual forces of reaction and the misled workers who still believe in reformism and to combat those who are misled by the confusionists whose latest antic is playing 'united front,' trying to unite with any one who is willing. Lately they have tried to unite even with priests, ministers and patriots who are helping Regent Horthy of Hungary and his White terrorists in their propaganda here for revision of the so-called Trianon Treaty which dismembered Austria-Hungary. The anti-revolutionists refused to have any united front with the burlesque bolsheviks. This is strange, as they are not talking about the class struggle and have even taken off the sickle-and-hammer emblem from their daily paper, so by right they really belong in the counter-revolutionary camps. There are a Townsend movement and even a Social Credit movement among the Hungarians, adding more to the confusion. In spite of all these ob-

stacles, the Federation will hold its own and go forward, as it is only through the teaching of the S.L.P. that the Hungarian workers of America will find their right place in the final struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

"Yours for a rousing campaign,
as C.M.B.D.,
"Alex. Kudlik,
"National Secretary."

The above report was accompanied with a financial report which is here summarized:

Total income (1935), \$6,411.40; carried over from 1934, \$419.80; total, \$6,831.20. Total expenditures (1935), \$6,453.83; balance on hand, \$377.37; total, \$6,831.20.

REPORT OF THE SOUTH SLAVONIAN FEDERATION.

"Cleveland, Ohio,

"April 4, 1936.

"To the Nineteenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party.

"Dear Comrades:

"Capitalist depression, unemployment and the threat of another World War are still with us and will remain with us as long as capitalism lasts. During the past six years of depression and unemployment the capitalist class has had plenty of time, popular support and all other opportunities to solve these problems. We must admit that the capitalist class, through its present Administration, has tried almost everything at their command to solve the problems with which they are confronted, within the framework of

capitalism. Yet they have not made an inch of progress.

"In the past, Marx says, the capitalist class could get over the crisis, 'on the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by conquest of new markets, and by more thorough exploitation of the old ones.' They have been trying to get over this crisis the same way. Our smiling President even took a step forward by ploughing under cotton and wheat, by destroying crops, pigs and what not. But capitalist society has reached the point, as Marx describes it, when 'the productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they become too powerful for these conditions.'

"Having failed in their efforts to find new markets for surplus goods and raw material through peaceful means, the capitalist class is ready to resort to armed force and war. The tremendous armament which has taken place in the last ten years in each and every capitalist nation points in that direction. But the world being already divided among the thieves of the powerful capitalist nations, another division becomes necessary for the less fortunate capitalist groups. Thus, it becomes an obvious fact to every intelligent working man and woman that in order to preserve its rule any longer the capitalist class must feed itself with its own limbs. When a given social system reaches that stage of its development and is unable to discharge its obligations toward social progress and civilization, that social system is ready to go. The total collapse of such a social system

is just a matter of time.

"Before the present depression there was not much sign of political activity on the part of South Slavonian workers during any election, except on the part of those under the influence of our Federation and, to a limited extent, among the followers of the burlesque communists. A great majority of the South Slavonian workers considered political campaigns and elections things with which they had nothing to do. This picture has been changed quite a bit now. During the depression a number of corner grocers, steamship agents, real estate agents, lawyers and other petty politicians lost their businesses and privileged positions they had in the good old days of prosperity and they have become active political agents of the two major capitalist parties, organizing so-called Jugoslav Democratic and Republican Clubs. The purpose of these clubs is to acquire political jobs for the leaders and to promise the street cleaning, city office cleaning or garbage collector jobs to their dupes and followers.

"Through these clubs and political trading with the big shots in the two major capitalist parties, the ex-S.P.ites and ex-Communists were twice elected to the Ohio State Assembly and several others, also ex-S.P.ites and ex-Communists, and so-called liberals and radicals, got soft political jobs in the city hall in Cleveland for themselves. During the municipal election in Cleveland last fall these clubs were very active, especially through the radio. There is, however, every reason to believe that they will be still more active in the coming Presidential election. It is needless to say that

our Federation will deal with these clubs in the S.L.P. style and manner. Whether it will be necessary for us to fight these stool-pigeons also through the radio remains to be seen.

"Four years ago (1932) we had 25 Branches with about 335 members. We now have 22 Branches with about 300 members. During this period we have organized three new Branches and have lost six. The main cause for losing these Branches is due to insufficient knowledge and lack of interest in the organization on the part of the new members in the new Branches. But as to activities, our Branches and members are more active now than ever before.

"In the past few years we have had internal disturbances in several Branches caused by disrupters and organization anarchists. These elements, because of their weak backbones, their ignorance or feeble character, simply cannot stand the strain of time, discipline and other requirements of an organization such as ours. As a rule, the trouble with these elements begins with a stupid act on their part and instead of correcting themselves they turn against the organization, denouncing its officers, etc. This sort of trouble naturally leads to suspension and expulsion.

"For the first few years of depression the mailing list of *Radnicka Borba* began to fall rapidly, then in 1932 it stopped at about 2,000 readers. Since then, however, the mailing list has begun to increase, but very slowly. The pre-paid subscriptions to *Radnicka Borba* for the past four years amount to \$10,209.42, and donations for the

same period amount to \$15,209.74.

"Our Federation is well supplied with literature. In the course of the past four years we have published 27,500 copies of new literature and have bought a certain quantity of Marx's 'Capital,' 'Critique of Political Economy' and 'Poverty of Philosophy' from the old country. Sales of our literature are satisfactory. The cash receipts for literature during this period amount to \$7,164.17. As usual, we published the yearly *Almanac* of 176 pages, 35 cents per copy. This year over 5,000 copies of the *Almanac* were sold. We also received \$1,816 for the advertisements in the *Almanac*.

"Our contribution to the National Campaign Fund of 1932 was \$2,381.94. How much we shall be able to contribute this year remains to be seen. But one thing is certain, that our contribution up to this convention will surpass the total amount of 1932. We undertook the necessary steps for the Campaign Fund early in January this year. While our contribution to the Campaign Fund of 1932 was less than in 1928, the amount for other Party funds has been twice as large during the past four years as it was the previous four years. The total amount to the various Party funds is \$4,194.76.

"Total cash receipts of the Federation during the past four years amount to \$51,238.22; expenditures, \$49,734.07. Cash balance as of December 31, 1935, \$1,504.15.

"Our Branch in Buenos Aires, Argentine, carries on its activities as usual. Due to the capitalist reaction in that country they cannot carry on activities with the necessary freedom and liberty; they have

to watch carefully. They plan to organize several study classes in the city and intend to increase their activities and influence through these study classes. The group in Montevideo, Uruguay, shows much more vigor and activity. Some time ago they sent us a copy of a Spanish translation of the 'Burning Question of Trades Unionism.' This pamphlet was published by 'Editorial Advance' in Buenos Aires. One copy of this pamphlet I have forwarded to the National Office. Our comrades over there are very enthusiastic about it. Up to date these two groups have distributed \$966 worth of our literature.

"For the most successful National Campaign Fund, I remain

"Fraternally yours,
"Milos Malencich,
"Secretary."

Our Greek S.L.P. movement has not made particular progress during the last few years. It became necessary to discontinue publication of the Greek organ, the *Bulletin*. From time to time Comrade Coroneos, our indefatigable secretary, complained that the Greek comrades were not rendering him the cooperation which they had pledged to render. Early last summer, under the supervision of the National Office, the Greek Executive Committee and the secretary were elected, the Greek comrades throughout the country, including those who were members of various Sections, voting on these questions. Comrade Coroneos has submitted a report which follows herewith:

March 26, 1936.

"Mr. Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary, S.L.P.

"Dear Comrade:

"Through the efforts of the National Office the Greek organization has been reorganized this past year and all efforts will be put forward to effect a group worthy the name of S.L.P. organization. Being numerically weak and having to operate on a national scale, our task is tremendous. We have found out, besides, that our numbers are even smaller than what we thought they were.

"Three members were eliminated for non-payment of dues, two of them of long standing and one supposedly well posted in S. L. P.ism. Another individual, although still a member of the Party, is inactive and in no way cooperates with us. Death has taken its toll besides. All in all, in the past three years or so, we have been left with eight to ten members fewer than before. The Greek organization is composed, at present, of 23 members which explains my remark that 'our task is tremendous.'

"However, we do not by any means get disheartened, but it is not out of place to wish to appeal, through these lines, to all Sections and comrades throughout the nation, to let no opportunity for contact with the Greek element go by without an effort to place us in touch with such possibilities.

"We have succeeded in publishing Marx's masterpiece, 'Value, Price and Profit,' in Greek, adding this most valuable brochure to our stock. We now have at our disposal nine S.L.P. pamphlets to hand out to the

Greek workers, besides 'The Silver Cross' by Eugene Sue.

"We have two Branches, one in Chicago with nine members and the other in Detroit with five. Our stalwart comrades in Detroit are sparing no effort to promote the interests of the Party. They are having their regular meetings and holding socials and entertainments, etc. They have taken in \$200, with a cash balance on hand, as at January 1, 1936, of \$40.

"The Chicago Branch, although it has had its handicaps, is emerging now to constructive activity. It held 14 regular meetings and one special meeting, and kept up a study class, with average attendance of five, up to last month; conducted a series of lectures in the winter season which seems to have built up a small audience which is gradually increasing. Further details, in my opinion, are not necessary. Suffice it to say that we struggle along and aim to improve.

"We have inaugurated a national 'Press and General Propaganda Fund' for general propaganda and the eventual republication of our Greek organ, *Organosis*, with \$22.65 on hand to date. There is a constant demand for free literature which we have not been able to fill so far. We have no leaflet whatever at hand at the moment, to which matter I desire very much to call your attention. We are trying our best to finance publication of some leaflets, say two or three kinds, for free distribution. Unfortunately, our resources are very limited. We shall soon have to print some few thousands of our platform in Greek. If the National Office could take care of part of the expense we shall only

be too glad to do all we possibly can, so as to arm ourselves with the absolutely indispensable free literature.

"We have in view issuing again a monthly mimeographed circular to bring the members and sympathizers closer together for further action.

"Generally speaking, the psychology of the Greek workers is practically one with the great mass of the working class, with the necessary variation allowed.

"As to future prospects we cannot say much. We prefer to do our share and let results take care of themselves. We pledge ourselves to work and contribute all we possibly can to spread our message among the Greek workers to help to get them organized in the S.L.P. in as great numbers as possible, to the end that capitalism be destroyed.

"Fraternally submitted,
"P. Coroneos,
"Secretary."

Party Membership.

During the past year there were sold upward of 24,000 dues stamps, and more than 6,600 exemption stamps were granted. On this basis the membership would be around 2,600, though making allowance for the usual factors (failing to ask for exemption stamps, being unduly in arrears though able to pay dues, etc.) the membership is probably nearer the 2,800 mark. That a great number of our members are still unemployed is indicated by the fact that requests for exemption stamps are made without material depreciation. For the year ending March,

1932, 3,869 exemption stamps were supplied. This figure was increased during the two following years, though during the subsequent three years it dropped slightly. The record stands as follow:

1932-1933	7,536
1933-1934	8,500
1934-1935	6,745
1935-1936	6,620

A total for the four years of approximately 30,000. Of last year's total of 6,600, approximately 1,800 went to the Federations. Despite constitutional provisions, despite repeated argument and entreaties, there are still members who hesitate, and sometimes refuse to accept exemption stamps. Apparently the feeling persists with some comrades that to accept exemption stamps is equivalent to accepting charity! It is hardly necessary to repeat that it is no such thing. One would think that classconscious, trained S. L. P. members, granted that it is distasteful to them to accept exemption stamps, would prefer that than to be dropped from the organization embodying the principles to which they profess adherence. For let us not forget here, as in other connections, that "The principle and the organization are one."

Sale of dues stamps during the four-year period was as follows (cents omitted):

1932-1933	\$3,017
1933-1934	3,852
1934-1935	4,263
1935-1936	4,754

Or a total for the four years of approximately \$16,000.

The S.L.P. Movement Abroad

There has been general progress in the S.L.P. movements in Great Britain, Australia, and—to keep within the technical meaning of the above subhead—in Canada. In Australia, where there have been in existence a few S.L.P. Branches for some years, steps have been taken to effect closer cooperation and coordination among the Branches with a General Executive which was elected last summer. This General Executive consists of seven members. Although progress has been slow in Australia in recent years, there is reason now to expect substantial progress in the near future. It is somewhat difficult at this distance to understand fully the reason for the backwardness of the S.L.P. movement in Australia, though it may be taken for granted that the activities of the disrupters a few years ago have to a very large extent been responsible for retarding progress.

In Great Britain progress appears to have been rather slow, but then our British comrades are facing unusual difficulties. Apart from the usual combination of foes of varied shades and pretences, the British S. L.P. has had to contend against a pestiferous nuisance in Scotland in the shape of a small group of introspective owls led by a few unscrupulous disrupters expelled years ago by the British Party. Being unhampered by the ordinary restrictions of truth and decency, they have occasionally succeeded in demoralizing and poisoning the minds of some of those who ordinarily would have been attracted to the S.L.P. Brazen-

ly they plume themselves with the fraudulent designation, British Section International Socialist Labor Party, the only part of which that has any element of truth in it is the "British." For short they refer to themselves as the B.S.I.S.L.P., wherefore they are usually categorized as the polynomials. Though prating about De Leon and De Leonism, they violate, through their very pretences and existence as a separate organization, the very fundamentals of De Leonism, to wit, that the principle and the organization are one. These individuals, besides being dishonest in their pretensions to being De Leonists, are also as naive and infantile a lot as it is possible to conceive. At any rate, those among them who are not consciously crooked, belong to the species of freaks referred to by De Leon as Knipperdollings. The Knipperdollings, as De Leon explains it, were a sect of fanatic followers of a sixteenth century German religious dissenter named Bernt Knipperdoling, who eventually embraced polygamy. (The fact of Knipperdoling's polygamy does not necessarily explain the polynomials!) Knipperdoling was fond of declaiming about the naked truth, which prompted his literal-minded followers to run about in the streets stark naked. Hence a Knipperdoling is one who accepts literally everything he hears, regardless of time and circumstances. Years ago an S.L.P. member who had visited Great Britain related the following incident. It seems that a dispute had arisen among the little group of Knipperdollings in Edinburgh, the argument evidently proceeding in typical theological fashion. Finally one of the Knip-

perdornings arose and said solemnly that De Leon had once made the statement that the working class was the final tribunal with respect to conflicting claims within the labor movement; wherefore he proposed that the question be submitted to the workers of Edinburgh at the next meeting on the town square, and that the final decision be left with them! It is further reported that this was done, though what finally happened is no longer fresh in memory. The story may not be true, or it may be exaggerated, but it illustrates to perfection the literal-mindedness and introspectiveness of this group. The literal-mindedness of these freaks is further illustrated by an incident that took place at a debate in Edinburgh, Scotland, March 31, 1929, between Comrade Cotton and one of the spokesmen of the polynomials. The latter thought so well of their achievement that they published the debate in pamphlet form, and they still advertise it. During the discussion following the debate, Comrade Cotton made the point that the policy of the polynomials was one of sterility—meaning, of course, that they were wooden-headed, literal-minded, and therefore wholly ineffective for the good of the movement. One of the polynomials (named Tait) then rose and asked Cotton with lugubrious solemnity: "Would Cotton say that Tait was a sterile individual?" To which Comrade Cotton, no doubt with befitting gravity, replied: "Unfortunately, I do not know the gentleman."!! (Parenthetically, an American S.L.P. man wonders how a debate between an S.L.P. man and a disrupter could be possible, but that, after all, is another story.)

Occasionally emissaries of this group land in this country, and with very few honorable exceptions attempt to carry on their disruptive propaganda here. It usually takes the form of denunciation and vilification of the British S.L.P. and particularly of that splendid outstanding British De Leonist, Comrade L. Cotton. In recent months one of these freaks (if not frauds) resumed disruptive activities in Toronto, after he had been properly consigned to the rubbish heap a few years ago. Though he had been previously informed that he was not wanted, and that in any case no former member of the Edinburgh disrupters could be admitted to the American S.L.P. without unqualifiedly repudiating these disrupters (which he refused to do, thus proving that he was an agent of the polynomials)—despite all this he, nevertheless, made renewed attempts to join Section Toronto. After rejecting his advances, Section Toronto referred him to the National Office of the S.L.P., as a result of which a couple of rather lengthy letters were exchanged. The net result of this was that this gentleman (named Nicoll) once more proved himself the usual combination of freakish clown and tanglefoot disrupter. As an amusing postlude to this incident, Section Toronto recently reported receipt of a letter from the gentleman wherein he serves notice of appeal to the Party's national convention!!! As the Party's National Secretary said, commenting on the matter in a recent letter to Comrade Cotton:

"Our organizer of Section Toronto, Canada, told me recently that he received a letter from Mr. Nicoll which, however, he returned without

reading more than a few lines. It appears that Mr. Nicoll wanted to appeal to our national convention against the Party's decision not to permit him, or any of his fellow disrupters of the 'Edinburgh School,' to join the Party here without, at least, repudiating the polynomials. Commenting further on the matter, the organizer of our Toronto Section adds that Mr. Nicoll 'wished to bring his case up for consideration by the Party convention, as a matter of international importance, and was asking for information as to procedure for so doing....' It is evident that in Mr. Nicoll we have another case of a diseased mind—that is, one more megalomaniac who thinks that the world revolves around him, whereas, as Emerson observes, it is the megalomaniac who stands on the spot, spinning around himself. Mr. Nicoll's point is obviously to be translated to say that Mr. Nicoll has become 'a matter of international importance.' I thought you would be interested in this additional tidbit concerning this amazing group of freaks and egotists who constitute themselves a nuisance in Edinburgh, Scotland."

The case of this freak proves again, if it proves nothing else, that S.L.P. renegade-disrupter and egomaniac are synonymous terms with respect to all matters concerning the labor movement. In order that the Party membership in general may become familiar with some of the outstanding facts in connection with this group of disrupters, we are reproducing herewith a brief outline of their "history" (using the word here in the same sense implied when students of pathology speak of "case

history") which was received by the National Office recently from Comrade Cotton:

"As to the Edinburgh Group, the B.S.I.S.L.P.

"The group of opponents of the S.L.P., organized under the false and lying title of British Section International Socialist Labour Party, was formed by men expelled from the S.L.P. of Gt. Britain in 1911.

"In the early days of the British S.L.P. the bulk of its membership was in a small area of Scotland. Its Executive was, necessarily, a local one of members in that area. This led to Edinburgh being made its Press centre and, later, Party Headquarters. The temporary and unsatisfactory nature of this form of Executive Committee was thoroughly realized by all Sections of the Party except Edinburgh. This arrangement lasted some years, due largely to Edinburgh's opposition to any change. As the then Editor of the Party organ wrote: 'They were determined that the leadership should remain with them, or under their "sphere of influence"—in other words, that the Party's N.E.C. should be a local or district caucus, and not in any sense representative of the Party.' When the Party did make the change and elected a 'National' Executive Committee with a Sub-E.C. in Edinburgh, the same opposition was met with. The Editor, J. C. Matheson, described it in a letter to the membership. Against this representative N.E.C. the hostility of the Edinburgh members has been unscrupulous and unremitting. In 1907 this Branch wrote to the members of the N.E.C. proposing that they should hand over to the

Sub-E.C. the powers that the Party had delegated to them. A more dangerous and subtle conspiracy cannot be conceived. Happily the N.E.C. refused to play the traitorous role assigned to them. Unhappily, they did not suspend the Branch for an attempt to get behind the membership and upset conference decisions. To show how little this Branch appreciated the generosity displayed to them by the N.E.C. they sent me, as Editor of *The Socialist* at the time, their quarterly Branch report for publication in the Party's organ, containing a paragraph in which they gloried in their attempt to overturn by illicit and unconstitutional methods the constitution of the Party, and claimed that defiance of Party rules was a mark of revolutionary virtue! I returned the report to them and refused to publish it unless that paragraph was deleted.'

"The late R. Hutchinson, for a long time an able member of the N.E.C., in his report to his constituents in 1909, said, 'The N.E.C. has never had, since its formation, the support of the Edinburgh and Leith members.' To quote Matheson again: 'Conference after conference has had its time frittered away and its discussions marred by the perennial dispute with the members of the late Edinburgh Branch. This year what was always a nuisance and a cause of irritation has become a source of humiliation and impotence to the S.L.P.' The same experience befell all other active members till some grew sick and left, leaving the position worse for those who remained.

"Another form of disruption favored by this group was the abuse of the constitutional right to call for

a referendum vote. They incessantly demanded referendums on all sorts of trivial matters, generally, against the form of N.E.C. Here is a sample of this taken from the N.E.C. Minutes of August 21, 1910. 'Letter from Edinburgh Branch calling on the N.E.C. to take referendum on the proposition: "That all general and routine business be carried through by the Sub-E.C., including finance, jurisdiction over the press, and that in all internal and routine matters the Sub-E.C.'s powers to act shall be vested in itself, and that it be responsible to itself and the Party, except in so far as they transgress rules.' In plain English they proposed to set up the Sub-E.C. as having co-equal powers with the N.E.C. but with all control in their own hands. Verily, a house divided against itself. Yet that referendum, typical of Edinburgh methods, was actually taken. It was Edinburgh's jesuitical attempt to emasculate the hated 'national' form of N.E.C. It is typical of the many others.

"The S.L. Press.

"The dispute would have terminated by their expulsion long before but for the fact that the Press was located in Edinburgh and was in their hands. Gillespie, the leader of the group, was the Press Manager. Their control of the Press was the bludgeon with which they compelled the membership to submit to their will. For instance, they would print and issue the Sub-E.C. Minutes promptly, but the N.E.C. Minutes were always delayed for a long time, always we were assured, for technical reasons we as non-printers could not understand. When complaints were sent to them of this delay they

blamed 'this lumbering form of N.E.C.' On one occasion the Party membership had decided to place an Organizer on the road. The Edinburgh members opposed this. Money was subscribed for the Organizer Fund and a capable member applied for the post. The National Secretary, one of the Edinburgh members, kept the application from the N.E.C. and thus the project of employing an Organizer that summer was defeated. The facts are recorded in the N.E.C. Minutes, June, July and August, 1910. The following year it was again decided to employ an Organizer and the National Secretary was instructed to insert in *The Socialist* an appeal for funds. He sent the appeal but it was not inserted. He wrote to Gillespie for an explanation. Gillespie replied that he had lost the copy. Thus were the efforts of the N.E.C. and the membership thwarted and sabotaged by this anarchistic group. And, remember, we are here only giving one or two samples of the treacherous conduct of these people that lasted for five long years. This sort of conduct was a regular feature of their activity. At the Party conference of 1911, Gillespie presented a document which purported to be the Financial Statement of the S.L. Press for the past year. The delegates spent a whole day trying to elicit from him what it all meant. It was in vain. And the conference rejected the document in toto and instructed the National Secretary to engage a Chartered Accountant to investigate the affairs of the Press. This was done. The Accountant afterwards wrote the National Secretary that he had twice called at the S. L. Press but on both occasions was put off by Gillespie. Realizing that his game was finished, Gillespie sent a postcard resigning his post immediately, choosing his time to do so just a few days before *The Socialist* should be published. As a last desperate throw of the dice he suddenly issued a circular to the membership containing a scurrilous attack on the N.E.C. in an effort to alarm the membership and get them on his side. This was defeated by the National Secretary who got a reply into the hands of the entire membership within 24 hours. The N.E.C. expelled Gillespie from the Party forthwith. He left the Press without giving up any list of the numerous literature agencies which held large quantities of the stock of books and pamphlets, most of which were lost to the Party. Now in the case of any expulsion by the N.E.C., unfairness or injustice is, though unlikely considering the widely scattered areas from which its members are elected, at least conceivable. Accordingly, the Party has provided abundant safeguards against it, and a means of making appeal if it should happen. Until these means had been exhausted, loyal members of the Party, however much they might sympathize with him, were bound to regard the expelled as outside the Party. The Edinburgh Branch adopted no such attitude. They elected him as their Branch secretary in the hope of compelling the National Secretary to correspond with him as a member, thus defying the N.E.C. and insulting the Party. As soon as the new N.E.C. were elected, the secretary called them to a meeting. At that meeting, December, 1911, the N.E.C. were in session for eleven hours examining the

evidence the National Secretary submitted to them. They then expelled the entire Edinburgh Branch, an action that should have been taken four years before. The Edinburgh expellees, true to their anarchist nature, refrained from taking the constitutional method of an appeal to the conference and took the course of defying the N.E.C. and continued to claim themselves as the Edinburgh Branch. We say nothing here of their impudent locking the new Press Manager out of the room used as a place for retailing the Party's literature; of their instructing a firm of solicitors to write to the Manager calling on him to vacate the premises; of their dragging internal Party affairs into their outdoor propaganda; of their public vilification of the N.E.C., the Press Manager, the National Secretary, and *The Socialist*.

"The Party Conference was held at Manchester and Gillespie and another presented themselves as delegates of the Edinburgh Branch, seating themselves at the delegates' table. As soon as the Chairman took his seat, the National Secretary demanded their removal. The delegates supported the demand, Gillespie refused to leave and the Chairman called upon a hefty delegate to remove him. Gillespie did not wait for the operation. He made an undignified exit. The conference, by an overwhelming vote, endorsed the actions of the N.E.C. and ratified the expulsions.

"Outside the Party they continued their disruptive tactics and regularly deluged our Branches and members with scurrilous circulars. Eighteen months later they set themselves up as the British Section International

Socialist Labour Party despite the fact that there was, and is, no such body as the International S. L. P. They pursued a policy of attacking the Party and at the same time demanding unity with it. In 1918, the membership, having forgotten the old soreness, agreed to allow them to send a representative to the Party Conference to make an appeal for unity. He was given the floor and immediately abused the privilege by lying statements. We quote from the report of the Conference. He said:

"After the Edinburgh Branch had been expelled by the N.E.C., the expelled members were debarred from regaining admittance into the S.L.P. by constitutional means by reason of the fact that the following conference at Manchester adopted the Budgen-Murphy policy which, in his opinion, was reformist and could not be endorsed by the expelled Edinburgh Branch who therefore formed the B.S.I.S.L.P."

"That statement is doubly untrue. The Manchester Conference was held in 1912 and the B.S.I.S.L.P. was not formed till 1914. Secondly, that Manchester conference did not change the Party policy at all. It merely reaffirmed the status quo. The Budgen-Murphy policy, so-called, was adopted at the Glasgow Conference two years earlier, fully eighteen months before the Edinburgh men were expelled.

"Not content with that double falsehood, the gentleman then sought to misrepresent the S.L.P. of America. We again quote the conference report of his speech:

"He then read a letter from the Secretary American S.L.P. on the matter, expressing the view that, as

the two organizations had the same objective, there was no reason for their remaining apart."

"The facts were that Comrade Petersen had never made such a suggestion whatever.

"In the last few years they have, through some of their supporters migrating to America, sought to inject suspicion and estrangement between the S.L.P. of America and that of Gt. Britain. Always the method is the same. They get to an American Section and seek to ingratiate themselves as good S.L.P. men. Then they begin their rat-hole, underground tactics of attack upon the British Party. They never come into the open with a definite charge that could be met and disproved. They prefer the skunks' method of spitting venom and keep to mere suggestion of difference between the two parties, that the British party is reformist and so forth. Never have we heard of their producing a tittle of evidence for the slander. They hope by constant suggestion to inject suspicion.

"In conclusion, we should say that they have now, in the year 1936, again approached the S.L.P. thus:

"We, the Edinburgh Branch of the above-named Party (The B.S.I. S.L.P.) consider the time is propitious for the calling of a conference of all working class organizations in Edinburgh to discuss the question of working class unity."

"And their precious letter closes with: 'We eagerly await your considered reply.' Well, the S.L.P. at least does not propose to unite with the so-called working class organizations, including fake socialists, reformists, communist hooligans, etc. Decidedly not."

As will be noted, the Edinburgh disrupters are identical in every important respect to the domestic brand of scavengers and disrupters whose one "useful" function here may be said to be to serve as a receptacle of the garbage and rubbish discarded by the American S. L.P. Wherefore it might be suggested that they change their polynomial designation to B.S.I.G.C.S.L.P. —i.e., British Section International Garbage Can Socialist Labor Party!

Canada has already been briefly referred to in the foregoing. However, since we have separate reports from our Canadian S.L.P. movement, and because of the increased activities, and increasing importance of our Canadian S.L.P., we are recording here extracts from some of these reports. From the report submitted by the Canadian General Secretary to the convention held in Toronto in November, 1935, the following is quoted:

"Comrades:

"This, the third annual convention of the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party in Canada, presents us once again with the opportunity to take stock of ourselves; to review our failures and successes, and, on the basis of experience and knowledge gained, lay plans for future steps that will take us steadily nearer our goal. The purpose of this convention, however, is not solely to lay plans for future activities; it should also serve as a source of inspiration, helping us to meet future difficulties with a higher spirit and courage.

"In reviewing the progress of the Party in Canada during the past year, one may say that, on the whole,

and considering the difficulties confronting it, the Party has done remarkably well. There has been no phenomenal increase in membership or activities, but there has been, nevertheless, and much more to be desired, a steady, healthy growth. Reports indicate that new contacts are being made and that our study classes are bending to the task of training new membership material. We have every reason to believe that the new material gained and the more complete training of the present membership, should result in greater and more effective efforts in the days we have before us.

"During the past year the number of Sections in Canada has decreased by one. For some time Section North York's membership was below the required minimum, and as the prospects of increasing the membership were not hopeful, it was decided by the National Office, on advice of Comrade Culshaw and the Canadian Sub-Committee, that the Section should be disbanded. The remaining four members of Section North York have been transferred to national members-at-large. There were three principal factors, in the opinion of your secretary, contributing to the failure of Section North York to make good. First, it was organized prematurely. Secondly, it was afforded practically no guidance or direction by trained S.L.P. members. And, thirdly, it was organized in a sparsely settled district, difficult even for a well trained Section to work. The latter condition, of course, we cannot help, but we should be very careful that prospective members are sufficiently grounded before attempting to organize them into a Section. It is

necessary also that, wherever possible, trained S.L.P. men should give the newly formed Section every necessary assistance.

"The most marked events in the activities of the Party in Canada since our last convention were the tour of Comrade Culshaw and the federal elections campaign. Comrade Culshaw's stay in Canada was the longest made by a national organizer since the Party was reorganized here. The tour itself was an outstanding success both from the point of view of propaganda efforts put forward and the help it afforded the membership in general. It is difficult to appraise the worth of such a tour and one of Comrade Culshaw's capacity, but it is assured that the impetus alone that is given to the Sections more than justifies the efforts and expenses involved.

"Our campaign in the recent federal elections was undoubtedly the greatest single effort ever put forward by the comrades in Canada. There were 76,000 Manifestoes printed and widely distributed throughout the country. No doubt through the distribution of Manifestoes alone many thousands of workers came in contact with the S.L.P. for the first time. True, as yet they do not heed, but the fact that they now know that such a party of Socialism exists in Canada makes the effort worth while. Besides making new contacts through the literature distributed and meetings held during the campaign, we have been able to arouse a new hope and enthusiasm in some of the old-timers who seemed to have been lost in the struggle for existence.

"....The organization of the Socialist Labor Party may be com-

pared to a machine designed to turn out information. The general structural principles of this mechanism have been proven sound. But, although structurally sound, the scale on which this structural principle is applied and the efficiency with which each coordinating part performs its allotted task, determines, in the last analysis, the effectiveness of the organization as a whole. And as the effectiveness of the organization depends upon the efficiency of its component parts, so the efficiency of each part in turn is determined by its individual equipment. For our purpose equipment may be divided under three headings, namely, *training, plans for procedure and finances*. It is not the object of this report to outline in detail any method of training the membership, plans of action or methods of improving our financial condition. These points in our equipment, however, in the opinion of your secretary, cannot be overemphasized and are respectfully submitted for the consideration of this convention."

And quite recently the following brief report was received from the present General Secretary, our veteran Comrade Edward Farrell:

"April 4, 1936.

"Mr. Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary, S.L.P.

"Dear Comrade:

"We herewith submit our report on the Socialist Labor Party in Canada.

"There are five active Sections with a membership of sixty-one, also some thirty members-at-large. All the Sections have been carrying on study classes for several years, hence

the Sections in Canada are all active and well grounded in Party program and tactics.

"Sections Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton have carried on successful propaganda meetings the past season. Section London, while not holding propaganda meetings, is nevertheless keenly active, and now, since several industrial towns in its vicinity have S.L.P. sympathizers, it will be exerting a guiding influence over them.

"In Ottawa, our energetic Comrade D. McNaughten has kept a study class going for a long time, and a Section will be organized there shortly. As in Hamilton, where Comrade James Collie kept a study class going over two years prior to organizing a Section, Ottawa is bound to have a well posted and disciplined organization from the start.

"*S.L.P. Activity in the West.*

"At Courtenay, B.C., Comrade Robert G. McQuillan has organized a study class of young men who rendered splendid support to Comrade Eric Hass while he was there recently. Another Section may be looked for there soon.

"In Vancouver, B.C., there is an active group of members-at-large, of the lapsed Section, and the splendid propaganda meetings organized there for Comrade Hass recently is an earnest that a new Section will be organized there soon.

"At Sardis, B.C., the S.L.P. has another group carrying on under the direction of Comrades Mrs. Anna Rehn and Fritz Siden, members-at-large.

"In Calgary, Alberta, we have a young student of the S.L.P., in the home of 'Social Credit,' who has been carrying on active S.L.P. prop-

aganda among several young friends.

"In Edmonton, Alberta, there are two members-at-large. A Section of the S.L.P. was organized in Edmonton some years ago and held out for a short period. While we have no information regarding activities there, it may be reasonably expected that our comrades in that far northern city are actively disseminating the message of the S.L.P.

"At Kamsack, Saskatchewan, there has been an active group, carrying on steadily for several years. Comrades A. Nadane, P. F. Strelief and S. A. Phillips, with others, have been doing valiant work there in an agricultural surrounding.

"There are many other individuals, readers of the *WEEKLY PEOPLES*, scattered through the Western Provinces, who are actively spreading the message of the S.L.P. Much credit is due the *WEEKLY PEOPLE* for the steadfastness of these readers, isolated as they are, out of all contact with national organizers and the Party work, and with all kinds of 'isms' whirling around them. The *PEOPLE* holds their interest and keeps them posted on current events on both sides of the class struggle, while they are getting a Socialist education.

"On the Atlantic Coast, in the steel and coal city of Sidney, Nova Scotia, we have a vigorous supporter, W. G. Rogers, and real progress is looked for there.

"Ontario has a number of members-at-large and active sympathizers who are doing their bit to spread the message of the S.L.P. Also in Ontario we have a number of new contacts, through the advertisement carried in the *Daily Star*, by Section Toronto, for its propaganda meet-

ings. The advertisement never has the speaker's name, unless a national organizer is present, but always carries three thought-provoking lines with the subject.

"This makes our advertisement stand out clearly with our direct challenge to capitalism, as against the reformistic advertisements of the C.C.F. and Anarcho-Communists, which are always boasting some individual. We are finding that the workers throughout Ontario are noticing this advertisement and writing for information.

"....As an instance of the inquiries received, and the sending out of *WEEKLY PEOPLES* and leaflets: Two keen-minded workers in the town of Ingersoll were contacted, then they were visited by Comrade Jos. H. Skelton, of Section London, with the result that eleven workingmen there are found to be interested in the S.L.P. Under the direction of Section London a study class is being organized, which may reasonably evolve into a Section, establishing another outpost of the advance guard of the revolution in Canada.

"A very striking thing that has come to us steadily in correspondence is that frequently these interested persons have been reading C.C.F. or Anarcho-Communist stuff, but after reading S.L.P. leaflets and the *WEEKLY PEOPLE* sent to them, they have independently come to the conclusion that the S.L.P. is the only revolutionary party. Its constructive program has appealed to them.

"This proves over and over again what we of the S.L.P. have always contended, i.e., that the working class of this continent, from their

constructive training in carrying on production and distribution, are too intelligent to allow petty Anarcho-Reformers or Parliamentary careerists to direct them.

"In Windsor, Ontario, one of the motor car cities in Canada opposite Detroit, some splendid agitation has been done under the direction of Section Detroit, Comrades Fraser and Culshaw actively participating, and, while we have only one member-at-large there, a Section may be expected to be organized there in due time.

"A brief financial record of the expenditures of the five Sections for 1935 is as follows:

"Dues and federal campaign, \$336.77; Labor News literature, \$242.41; *WEEKLY PEOPLE*, \$342.11; total amount expended, \$921.29.

"Respectfully and fraternally submitted,

Edward Farrell,
General Secretary."

With proper and persistent efforts it should be possible soon to build in Canada an S.L.P. movement strong and powerful enough to make its influence felt throughout the Dominion.

Party Press and Literature.

During the last four-year period we have published, sold and distributed immense quantities of sound Marxian literature. The enemies of the S.L.P., and particularly the renegades whose stock-in-trade is slander and misrepresentation, who love to prate about how small the S.L.P. is, and who mockingly ask:

"What do you accomplish?", might reflect on the solid and indisputable fact that great *quantities* of the finest *quality* of revolutionary literature are distributed every year by the S.L.P. This literature, these myriad-tongued pamphlets, leaflets and newspapers, is arguing and instructing ceaselessly, even after some of those have gone who helped to distribute it. It was George Eliot who said: "Our deeds are like children born to us: they live and act apart from our own will. Children may be strangled, but deeds never." An S.L.P. renegade, expelled in 1917, who now holds a fat union job, said with unctuous recently (speaking about the S.L.P. of today): "The unselfish devotion of this group [the S.L.P.] to the cause of Socialism is deserving of greater success." This hypocrite had previously belittled the efforts of the Party by saying that the S.L.P. was "a small group with no influence." What greater success than to continue to propagate the truth regardless of traitors and renegades? What greater achievement than to survive the corrupting influence of capitalism, with principles and integrity intact, while spurning the "success" of the lackeys of capitalism, the "success" of the petty reformer? What greater "success" than to maintain the organization which keeps the scientific literature of Marxism circulating? The same renegade speaks with double-tongued unctuousness about the great writings of De Leon. Who makes it possible for these great writings to live in the present, and to speak with the eloquent, instructive and deed-inspiring voice of the great De Leon? But for the S.L.P. that voice

of Marxism would be stilled; temporarily, at least, there would be silence in these United States—so silent would it be that, for the time being, at least, none would here suspect that there ever was a Marx or a De Leon. And so, while the fat-bellied renegade and labor faker sneers at the present-day S.L.P., while hypocritically preening himself with his *ex*-S.L.P.ism, and his present fleshpot success, that “small group with no influence” does the *only* thing by which success in a revolutionary sense can be measured: propagates, teaches the living Marx-De Leon principles, while inspiring the workers with the spirit and feeling of men worthy to be free.

I.

Weekly People Sales.

WEEKLY PEOPLE sales, including subscriptions and bundles, for the four years were as follows:

April 1, 1932-March 31, 1933:	
	\$13,874.17
April 1, 1933-March 31, 1934:	
	\$11,275.28
April 1, 1934-March 31, 1935:	
	\$13,720.78
April 1, 1935-March 31, 1936:	
	\$12,801.70.

Or a total sale for the four-year period of \$50,671.93. There is a drop of about \$1,419 for the last year as compared with the preceding year. On the other hand it is \$3,000 above the corresponding year four years ago, i.e., the year preceding the 1932 campaign. The increased figure in the year of 1934-1935 was, of course, due to the national campaign. The high figure of 1934-1935 is ac-

counted for largely in the Circuit Lecture sub. sales. But whatever explanations may be offered, the fact remains that there has been a drop of approximately \$1,400 during the last year when, if anything, there should have been an *increase* of at least that amount. Despite strenuous efforts, it has not yet been possible for us to effect a permanent substantial increase in the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. The conspiracy of silence practiced on the Party naturally extends to its official organ. But the more the enemy tries to suppress information concerning the Party and its literature, the more vigorous should be our efforts to overcome and frustrate the efforts of our enemies. We know, of course, that at the present time the WEEKLY PEOPLE cannot become a paper with a mass circulation. The capitalist press as yet rules the field supreme. Not all the ballyhoo methods, not all the shoddy imitative attempts of the Anarcho-Communist and Social-Democratic reformers have enabled them to increase the circulation of their papers. Indeed, in the case of these cheap and vulgar imitations of the bourgeois papers (and mostly imitations of the yellow press at that) it may be said that the more they succeed in increasing their circulation, the more they fail. This sounds paradoxical, but investigation and reflection will prove it to be otherwise. While these reform papers restrain their ballyhoo methods somewhat, their circulation goes down, or remains stationary. When they begin to imitate the capitalist press, they may for a while succeed in boosting their circulation somewhat. But after a while the new

readers will discover that the very “features” through which they were ballyhooed into becoming readers of these reform sheets are shoddy imitations of the daily papers which they had been in the habit of reading. No one in his senses will pay for a vulgar and cheap imitation when the “genuine” article can be purchased as cheaply. The result is, of course, that they stop buying the imitation, and resume the reading of the out-and-out bourgeois papers. As De Leon pointed out, capitalist papers do not sell news, but advertisements, or space for advertisements. “The news,” said De Leon, “in a capitalist paper is only what the electric illumination and other such attractions are to a store.” And he goes on to point out that the capitalist papers live and prosper on a species of blackmail; that the sort of “service” offered so lavishly by the capitalist press has become a narcotic to its proletarian readers—a narcotic from which they must be gradually weaned. A Socialist newspaper, he continued, cannot hope to attract readers by the methods of the capitalist press. “It must realize,” he argued, “that ninety-nine out of every hundred of its readers will stick to the Egyptian fleshpots of the capitalist ‘news’ papers It must follow the tactics, not of attempting to dispute their field with the capitalist ‘news’ contemporaries, but, first, of seeking to share their readers; and then, as an ultimate aim, to strip them of their proletarian dupe-audience, together with those in sympathy with these. Even such a course will encounter serious financial obstacles.

But these obstacles it is possible to overcome. *The opposite course leads straight to disaster*; ten to one to ignominious disaster...” Above all, De Leon warned against what he designated “‘corner-grocer’s’ style of fraudulent self-advertising,” as particularly exemplified at that time in the Victor Berger sheet, the *Milwaukee Leader*.

These freakish and fraudulent methods of self-advertising, of “Pullerism,” are employed today particularly by the reform sheet, the *Daily Worker*, and each attempt of this paper to boost its circulation by fake methods serves but to emphasize the correctness of De Leon’s diagnosis. The Hearst-Macfadden publications, in particular, reason something like this: Get readers by smearing sensationalism and obscenities all over the pages, and then we shall hold them through increased doses of sensationalism and obscenities. For sensationalism is like a narcotic, “a shot in the arm”: it must be administered in increasing quantities, and with increasing frequency, in order “to take.” The Anarcho-Communists, and the reformers in general, argue: Get readers by smearing sensationalism and lurid stories all over the pages of our publications, and when we get them we shall teach them Socialism. They overlook the fatal flaw in this reasoning. For since they must continue to get new readers, and if these are to be got by sensationalism, etc., when will they begin to teach “Socialism”? Either they must stop sensationalism, and then readers are not attracted; or they must continue

sensationalism, and in increasing doses, and then they never start to teach "Socialism"—on the contrary, they are engaged in hopeless and stupid competition with the very papers which they would like to, but cannot possibly, supplant. As De Leon so forcefully put it (in 1909):

"A Socialist paper that proceeds upon the policy of first 'roping in' readers with all sorts of claptrap, and then, their having become readers, turn them into Socialists—such a paper belongs in a lunatic asylum. When is the period to begin for 'Socialist articles'? New readers are constantly nibbling at such a paper. Shall the Socialist articles be put off until the nibblers are 'hooked'? Why, fresh nibblers are at their heels. The putting off of the Socialist teaching will have to be indefinite. If such a paper is not crazy, then it is crooked."

In the light of our experience it is safe to say that such papers are as crazy as they are crooked. It would require more than the wisdom of Solomon to know where to cut off the crooked without "bleeding" the crazy part, and vice versa. And as to ballyhoo methods, De Leon observed on one occasion: "Nervous reaction is sure to follow upon all hurrah campaigns.... It is a principle that holds good in sociology as well as in biology that 'when the effect produced is not in direct relation or in equal proportion to its cause, disintegration begins'!"

But although we know that the WEEKLY PEOPLE cannot achieve a mass circulation now or for some time to come, either by ballyhoo or legitimate methods, we do know that its circulation can be materially increased by legitimate methods if our

members and sympathizers make up their minds to effect the increase. It is hoped that this convention may conceive of some new method whereby the members and sympathizers generally may become thoroughly convinced that it is possible to increase the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, at the same time stirring the membership, etc., to do that which we conceive to be possible. It is with regret that we must acknowledge that the Circuit Lecture plan was a failure with respect to increasing the WEEKLY PEOPLE subscription list, though in other respects it may be designated successful.

Commenting on this important question in his report to the recent Washington state convention, Comrade Krauklis, our state secretary, said:

"Our official organ, the WEEKLY PEOPLE, as we all will admit, is the best medium of spreading the S.L.P. principles and clarifying the minds of the workers, but in this respect we have to say that the WEEKLY PEOPLE sub. list in this state shows very little or no progress.... We not only failed to secure more subs. from outside our ranks, but some of our members for some reason fail to subscribe regularly to our official organ. How can we expect a member to represent the S.L.P. intelligently, when he or she is lacking in information as to the Party principles, tactics and revolutionary stand, which is so well presented in every issue of the WEEKLY PEOPLE?"

The point, at any rate, should sink in that the increase in complete Socialist knowledge and understanding in this country is almost in direct

relation to the increase in the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. For the spoken word alone cannot make Socialists. Leaflets *alone* cannot do so; they can and frequently do *incite* to a further study of Marxism, which then normally proceeds via the WEEKLY PEOPLE to the books and pamphlets published by the Party. And only those who have read, studied and understood *all* the literature published and recommended by the S.L.P., may be said to be full-fledged Socialists.

Many methods have been suggested time and again in the past for increasing the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, but one of the easiest, and at times the most effective, is to place copies on newsstands. Wherever this is attempted, the Sections should supervise the matter. Many newsstands would probably not want to be bothered, but many others would be willing to try. It must not be expected, however, that the newsdealer will stand the loss of unsold copies, and generally speaking the WEEKLY PEOPLE cannot afford to take back unsold copies. The Sections might select one or more of the most promising stands and place two or more copies for sale. What the newsdealer cannot sell the Section would have to take back, and such unsold copies could be distributed free as sample copies. The smallest bundle order the WEEKLY PEOPLE can accept at bundle order rates is five copies, but it should prove no serious difficulty for any Section to pay the small amount of roughly 14 cents per week for such a bundle. Advertising cards are supplied free. These can be displayed on the stand or in the neighborhood. If every

Section would try out this idea, the circulation would by that fact alone be increased considerably. In his report to the recent New Jersey state convention, Comrade Bopp, state organizer, makes a few suggestions, and recounts the experiences of some of our New Jersey comrades, with respect to increasing the WEEKLY PEOPLE circulation, which may be of value to comrades elsewhere. The following is quoted from the report:

"I have sent out regularly 25 to 30 copies per month to names culled from the various daily papers of the state, together with a batch of assorted leaflets. Some few respond asking more information. None have objected thus far. This method is also recommended to the membership. The expense is about the price of admission to a good movie monthly for the copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE used and the postage amounts to 50 cents or 60 cents per month, which I am sure your Section will be only too glad to help you out with if you cannot afford this sum monthly in addition to all your other Party obligations.

"The newsstand sale of the WEEKLY PEOPLE does not fare so well, with the exception of Newark where from 10 to 15 copies are sold weekly. One method of increasing newsstand sales has been suggested by Comrade V. L. Reynolds that I pass along to you. Go to the neighborhood newsstands, principally confectionery stores, drug stores, etc., and acquaint the proprietor of same with your plan for an advertising campaign in his territory to stimulate the sale of the WEEKLY PEOPLE which you intend to place on his stand. The plan is as follows:

"1. Select an area within easy walking distance of the contemplated stand, in which to distribute three sample copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE for a period of three weeks. Cover every house and apartment within the selected district religiously.

"2. Attach a sticker to your first sample copy reading: 'This is your sample copy of the only journal of scientific Socialism published in the English language. Read it carefully. It is written and published exclusively for you and your fellow working men and women.'

"3. To the second sample copy attach another sticker reading: 'This is your second sample copy of the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party of America. Did you read the first copy we left for you? Did you like it? If not, why not? We shall be glad to call to discuss ways of improving it, if you will notify us at the above address. (Section stamp.) Or better yet, call around at our Section meeting (location herein designated) and let's talk it over.'

"4. Attach a sticker to the third and final copy reading: 'This is your last free copy of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. If you desire to continue reading it, it may be obtained from your neighborhood stand (location) at 5 cents per copy. If you want to make sure of getting it regularly every week, we suggest you subscribe for it at the following rates. (Rates.)'

"In this way the entire territory under the jurisdiction of a Section can be worked over with a fine comb and if followed systematically as herein outlined there isn't any question about increasing sales."

Other methods may be tried out,

but of one thing we may be certain, and that is that until the WEEKLY PEOPLE becomes better known in wider working class circles we shall not make the progress that the times and our total efforts otherwise would make possible.

II.

Labor News Sales and Activities.

During the four-year period the sales of books, pamphlets, leaflets, etc., were as follows:

1932-1933	\$4,852.51
1933-1934	11,275.28
1934-1935	6,634.78
1935-1936	6,954.45

Or a total for the four-year period of close to \$30,000. The previous four-year period the amount was only about \$15,000. WEEKLY PEOPLE and Labor News sales, accordingly, amounted to approximately \$80,000 for the four years, or an average of \$20,000 per year. As will be noted, there was a large falling off in sales in the year 1934-1935, although last year's sales were about \$300 higher than the year preceding (i.e., 1934-1935), and it is \$2,700 higher than the year preceding the campaign of 1932. But everything considered, the amount is disappointingly low, considering the times we are passing through. We are continuing to reprint the standard pamphlets, and new titles are brought out as frequently as the need may dictate, and finances make possible. Among the most recent and important books and pamphlets that we have published may be mentioned De Leon's "Socialist Economics in Dialogue," this being the volume containing selected Uncle Sam

and Brother Jonathan dialogues, and, incidentally, the first volume in what will eventually become the Collected Works of Daniel De Leon.

In 1935 we commenced publication of what we hope to make a regular annual, namely, *First of May*. The 1936 issue is just out. It has met with universal favor, and should prove an excellent means for introducing our standard publications to new readers. The 1935 issue was oversubscribed. At least 500 more copies could have been sold if we had had them. This year, accordingly, we printed 500 more than a year ago, and at the present rate they will probably be sold out before the convention is over.

The following is a list of the titles of books and pamphlets, and quantities printed during the last year:

Abolition of Poverty (originally Father Gassoniana) De Leon, 72pp. 2,200

Americanism (A. and H. No. 3), O. M. Johnson, 48pp. 2,300

As to Polities, De Leon, 128pp. 1,125

Ballot and the Class Struggle, De Leon, 48pp. 2,100

Crises in European History, Bang, 64pp. 3,000

Daniel De Leon (American Socialist Pathfinder), O. M. Johnson, 32pp. 1,000

High Cost of Living and Money, Petersen-De Leon, 56pp. 2,100

Industrial Democracy (A. & H. No. 16), Eric Hass, 32pp. 3,000

Industrial Unionism—new (2 printings), O.M. Johnson, 128pp. 3,350

Industrial Unionism, De Leon-Debs, 36pp. 2,100

Machinery and the Working Class (A. & H. No. 18), J. P.

Quinn, 32pp.	2,200
Reform or Revolution, De Leon, 36pp.	3,350
Religion of Capital, Paul Lafargue, 32pp.	1,125
Revolution (2 printings), new, O. M. Johnson and A. Petersen, 64pp.	4,325
Socialist Economics in Dialogue, new, De Leon, 272pp., cloth	2,000
Socialist Reconstruction of Society, De Leon, 64pp.	3,250
Ten Canons of the Proletarian Revolution, De Leon, 32pp.	1,000
Value, Price and Profit, Marx, 96pp.	2,100
First of May (Magazine), new, 40pp.	2,500
Total	44,125

Disruption and Disrupters (Party Manual), new, A. Petersen, 48pp.	5,000
Grand total	49,125

During the year the following leaflets were printed:

The American Agricultural Worker (originally The American "Peasant") (corrected, etc.) 4pp.	17,000
Anarcho-Communism, 2pp.	15,000
Capitalism Must Be Destroyed, 4pp.	72,000
(with Washington imprint) 10,000	
Capitalism on Trial, 2 pp.	25,000
Communist Heckling, 4pp.	15,000
The Future Order of Society, 4pp.	40,000
The Government of the Future, 2pp.	35,000
The Industrial Union, 2pp.	55,000
(with Washington imprint) 10,000	
Industrial Union Government, 2pp.	15,000

The Machine and Unemployment, 2pp.	50,000
A Marine Workers' Industrial Union, 2pp.	30,000
Platform S.L.P., 1932, 4pp. 50,000 (with Washington imprint) 10,000	
Revolution, 2pp.	15,000
The S.L.P. vs. the S.P., 4pp. 32,000	
Socialist Party on the Rocks, 2pp.	10,000
What Is Capitalism?, 2pp. 35,000	
What Is Socialism?, 2pp.	67,000
Whither Society?, 2pp.	40,000
Why Workers Strike, 2pp.	15,000
Workers, Organize for Industrial Government, new, 2pp.	42,000

Special Leaflets:

California: The Right to Revolu- tion (An Open Letter to Gov- ernor Merriam), 4pp.	10,000
Louisville, Ky.: Workers of Kentucky, 2pp.	10,000
Michigan: Old vs. New Unionism, 2pp.	25,000
Oklahoma: To the Workers of Oklahoma, 2pp.	20,000
 Total	770,000

New leaflets are printed as often as possible, and leaflets somewhat out of date are brought up to date regularly. Among the present standard agitation leaflets some need to be revised, and this will be done just as soon as time can be found to give to the task. The following new leaflets are in preparation: "Fascism, Can It Happen Here?"; "The War to End War"; "Capitalism in Dissolution." The total quantity of leaflets distributed during the year is as follows:

Total printed April 1, 1935-
March 31, 1936 770,000

On hand April 1, 1935 107,100

Total 877,100

Distributed during the year—
650,600

On hand March 31, 1936 226,500

We had planned also to publish in book form the Socialist Study Course that was reprinted in newspaper format from the WEEKLY PEOPLE, but as yet nothing has come of it.

During the four-year period beginning April 1, 1932, the Party distributed a total of approximately 5,550,000 leaflets throughout the country.

In 1934 Comrade Hillis of Section Lynn, Mass., conceived the idea of publishing a Socialist Labor Party calendar, with dates of outstanding importance to Socialists in general, and American Socialists in particular. That year we sold 2,375 of the calendar, while in 1935 the total quantity sold was 3,800. This calendar, too, seems to have met with popular approval.

There is a suggestion from Section Montreal to translate a few of the standard pamphlets into French, that language being spoken and read extensively in Canada. The resolution adopted by Section Montreal follows:

"Whereas, French is equally with English the official language of Canada and is, moreover, the language of instruction in all French communities from coast to coast and is, therefore, not a foreign language in that country; and

"Whereas, French is also the family speech of many thousands of Americans, notably in the New England states; and

"Whereas, The rapid proletarianization of the 'habitant' farmers of Quebec can easily result in a dangerous situation if these people remain under the influence of Ultramontanism operating in the guise of Anarcho-Communism and that, consequently, there is imperative need for revolutionary propaganda among them; and

"Whereas, The forces of Reaction, exploiting the racial pride of a so-called 'conquered people' render it difficult to approach them through the medium of the English tongue; and

"Whereas, The S.L.P. subdivisions in Canada have no French speakers and are, furthermore, financially unable to undertake the printing of French language literature; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party in convention assembled make provision for the publishing of a certain amount of Socialist literature in the French language.

"The foregoing resolution adopted at the regular meeting of Section Montreal, S.L.P., held April 2, 1936.

"Elwood Kitchin, Organizer,
"Section Montreal, S.L.P.,
"Montreal, Canada."

Considering the size of our membership, it sometimes seems as if our comrades are not doing as much as is possible under the present conditions to sell the Party's books and pamphlets. Let every member ask himself whether he is doing everything within his power, and in keeping with the opportunities that al-

most thrust themselves upon one, to sell the Party's fine literature. One comrade, Herman Simon, of Connecticut, has shown what can be done in a purely individual way with tact and persuasion. Comrade Simon succeeded in having placed on sale at the Yale Cooperative Book Store S.L.P. pamphlets, and since April 19, 1935, a total amount of \$77 worth of S.L.P. pamphlets has been sold through that book store. This is indeed a splendid result. Would that other comrades would take the hint and do likewise.

Our Language Federations, and our Greek and Ukrainian comrades, are regularly bringing out translations, etc., of S.L.P. books and pamphlets in their respective languages.

But for the California disruption, the Sue Books would probably have been reprinted by this time. That they are not yet available is another item to be scored up against the fools and villains we had to deal with in California during the year. Comrade Lieberman of New York had advanced an initial payment of several hundred dollars, and we were all set to figure out the possibilities, etc., when things began to happen in California.

Every effort will be made to get out a new edition in the near future. Another work the publication of which has been unavoidably delayed (and chiefly for the same reason) is the amplified new edition of "Who Are the Falsifiers?" Despite repeated exposures in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the Anarcho-Communist crooks and their Russian allies have repeated the audaciously fake statements concerning the S.L.P. edition of Engels's preface to "Class Struggles in France" by Marx. Comrades Cotton, of Lon-

don, and Weder, of New York, have both helped materially in exposing the villainies of the unscrupulous Bakuninists who parade under the name of Communists. Without unreasonable delay, this book will be brought out. Then there is in contemplation a booklet on the subject of "Money" by De Leon, and a special introduction for Marx's "Wage Labor and Capital." This pamphlet contains a number of archaic expressions—as for example when "cost of production" is used as a synonym for or rather *instead* of the scientific term "value." Finally we hope to bring out in the near future a new edition of De Leon's "Vulgar Economy" which has been out of print for nearly twenty years. It needs some minor corrections, and a new introduction, etc.

The question of a suitable and acceptable edition of Marx's "Capital" continues to plague us. Several spurious "editions" have appeared in recent years. Quite recently The Modern Library, Inc., which specializes in reprinting classics at low prices, announced that a new edition of "Capital" was about to be published to sell at \$1 per volume. On January 24, 1936, the National Secretary of the Party communicated with the publishers, suggesting that they use the Swann Sonnenschein edition for their new edition. Attention was called specifically to page 687 in the so-called Kerr edition to a stupid interpolation not contained in the original edition which was specifically approved by Engels. The following is quoted from one of the letters written by the National Secretary:

"In further reply to your letter

of February 10, we desire to point out to you one of the idiocies and errors contained in the so-called Kerr edition of 'Capital' by Karl Marx, which idiocies, etc., presumably will be reproduced in your forthcoming edition of Marx's great work. If you will refer to page 687 of the Kerr edition you will find the following:

"Competition and credit, the two most powerful levers of competition, develop in proportion as capitalist production and accumulation do."

"I need hardly point out in detail how absurdly tautological that statement is. If you ignore the reference to 'credit,' the statement would then read: 'Competition, the most powerful lever of competition.' Needless to say, Marx was not guilty of such an absurdity. That passage is not found in the original and genuine Sonnenschein edition, which was expressly approved by Frederick Engels. It was inserted by the charlatans who 'edited' and 'amended' Marx!

"There was once in American political history a charlatan who came to be known as Professor Greengoods. His victims were referred to as victims of Greengoodism. By consulting the charlatans and fakers operating here as 'Communists,' you fell an easy, and apparently quite happy and contented, prey to a later Greengoodism. In short, you have suffered the fate of all who allow themselves to be guided or treated by quacks. And since you are determined to publish the volume now in preparation, with all its errors, and unauthorized 'additions' and 'editing,' you cannot escape your share of the censure justly visited upon the original culprits."

Nonchalantly these petty bourgeois publishers of Marx's immortal work (what a contradiction in terms—petty bourgeois publishers and 'Capital'!) told us that they had been advised by the Anarcho-Communist fakers and perverters of Marxism to use the Kerr edition, concluding impudently: "And that's that." Yes, that *is* that, and *that* is a disgrace to the Socialist movement in this country that such things are possible and tolerated. During the lifetime of De Leon the Sonnenschein edition was available, which enabled him to advise inquirers to use that edition, only since, as he put it, there was no time to "ascertain whether other editions have, or have not 'amended Marx,' a la Spargo." We know now that all other editions, so-called, are defective in one respect or another. Apparently there will be no satisfactory edition of "Capital" until the S.L.P. publishes one.

Occasionally references are made to "Volumes II. and III. of 'Capital.'" It is noted with regret that some of our S.L.P. writers and students occasionally quote from these volumes when THE volume (mistakenly called Volume I.) could just as well be quoted. "Volumes II. and III." as such were not, as a matter of fact, written by Marx. These so-called Volumes II. and III. of "Capital" consist of memoranda, notes, unfinished outlines and conjectural sketches by Marx which he never authorized for publication. In so far as the German edition is concerned these were largely prepared by Frederick Engels. But Engels himself, with scrupulous regard for the facts, honestly admits certain doubts as to parts of the notes, etc., left by Marx. In his preface to "Volume II." (written two years before his death) Engels admits that the notes of Marx were exceedingly sketchy and incomplete, and written in obvious haste, and under stress of the severe illness which soon thereafter terminated the life of Marx. Among other things Engels observes: "Some parts of the argument would be fully treated, OTHERS OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE ONLY INDICATED." Again: "The material to be used for the illustration of facts would be collected, but barely arranged, much less worked out. *At the conclusion of the chapters there would be only a few INCOHERENT sentences as milestones of the INCOMPLETE DEDUCTIONS, showing the haste of the author in passing on to the next chapter.* And finally, THERE WAS THE WELL KNOWN HANDWRITING WHICH MARX HIMSELF WAS SOMETIMES UNABLE TO DECIPHER." And of the so-called third volume, Engels said in 1894 (six months before his death): "Nothing was available for the third volume but a first draft, and it was very incomplete . . . the farther one proceeded, the more sketchy and incomplete was the analysis, the more excursions it made into side issues . . . the longer and more complex became the sentences. . . . In several places the handwriting and the treatment of the matter clearly revealed the approach and gradual progress of those attacks of ill health . . . which at first rendered original work more and more difficult for the author and finally compelled him from time to time to stop work altogether." And of a certain part Engels said that at this

point "Marx had been overtaken by one of those above-mentioned serious attacks of illness," wherefore, accordingly, "we had no finished draft, nor even an outline which might have been perfected, but only a first attempt at an elaboration, which more than once ended in a disarranged mass of notes, comments and extracts."

Finally we are to remember that Engels himself was aging rapidly, and subject to the same interruptions, more or less, that he refers to in the case of Marx. He was past seventy when he was working on these bits and scraps left by Marx. As he himself puts it (speaking of himself): "When a man is past seventy, his brain fibres of association work with a certain disagreeable slowness. He does not overcome interruptions of difficult theoretical problems as easily and quickly as formerly."

Commenting on these volumes, De Leon said:

"In no legitimate sense is there such a thing as a IIId. and IIIId. volume of 'Capital,' meaning, of course, Marx's 'Capital,' as the volumes purport to be.... Without derogating in the slightest from the eminent services rendered by Engels to the cause of Socialism, or from his ability—on the contrary, with all the veneration that is due to Engels as a founder of Scientific Socialism, the two volumes he issued after Marx's death are not Marx's. A man's works, especially in the instance of a man of Marx's caliber, consist only of what he issued in his life, or left ready for publication after his life. The IIId. and IIIId. volumes were not published in Marx's life; more than that, Marx did not leave them

ready for publication; worse yet, they consist to a great extent, if not mainly, of rough drafts, of memoranda, sometimes notes, that Engels himself stated in all frankness he had difficulty in deciphering..... Not even a man of Engels's intellectual inches, not even when such a man was in full accord with and the close associate of another, as Engels was with and of Marx, can his version and rendition of that other's hurriedly jotted-down notes and incomplete sketches be considered the work of that other;—when that other is a man of Marx's exceptional mental acquirements and powers least of all. The two volumes issued by Engels are essentially a monument raised to a dear friendship, a pious tribute to the shades of one of the world's giants."

It is necessary to remember these things lest too much importance be attached to these so-called second and third volumes of "Capital." Nor must the fact be overlooked that the English translations (made by the S.P. faker and charlatan Untermann) render them still more subject to doubts and reservations. We have already seen what happened to the first, i.e., the only authentic volume of "Capital," after it passed through the hands of the S.P. faker. One shudders at the thought of what he may have done to the so-called Volumes II. and III.

For all practical and useful purposes the volume (so-called first) of "Capital" published by Marx is sufficient. Persons interested in *Curiosae* may read through the two additional volumes and derive some pleasure therefrom. The prefaces written by Engels are interesting and instructive. For the rest only

the interminable wrangler, or the pedantic contender, will find it necessary to read, let alone *study*, the "apocryphal" volumes.

De Leon Editorial Publication Fund:
Sections (Greater New York De Leon celebration), \$102.53.

Grand total, \$5,570.64.

Grand totals of funds received from April 1, 1935, to March 31, 1936.

Press Security Fund—
\$3,641.10
Guard—
\$2, 160.30 \$5,801.40

Christmas Box \$2,034.71

Weekly People Thanksgiving Bazaar Fund:

National Office Cash
Donations—
\$2,285.11

Received through
Mrs. Rose Weinberger, treas.—
\$1,077.01 \$3,362.12

Net grand total *Press Funds*—
\$11,198.23

National Organizer Fund \$6,138.05

Radio Broadcasting Fund \$2,268.43

De Leon Editorial Publication Fund \$134.53
Ukrainian Literature Fund \$31.75

Net grand total *all funds*—
\$19,770.99

The total amount collected for the press funds is, accordingly, a little over \$11,000 as against approximately \$9,750 a year ago. Particularly noteworthy is the result of our Thanksgiving Day affair, the amount

Party Funds.

The following is a record of proceeds from entertainments applied to various Party funds (amounts shown are included in grand totals):

Press Security Fund:

Sections, \$704.17; Sections and Branches, \$326.86; Federations (collected at South Slavonian banquet), \$1,000; Miscellaneous (Weekly People Clubs—Akron, Boston, Salem, O., Mansfield, Lynn), \$119.67.
Total, \$2,150.70.

Weekly People Bazaar Fund:

Sections, \$404.68; Sections and Branches, \$42.40; Branches, \$10.05; Federations (collected at Bulgarian convention), \$23.25; Miscellaneous, \$153.98; Proceeds Ohio State Bazaar, \$272.57.
Total, \$906.93.

Christmas Box:

Collected at annual convention Bulgarian S.L.F., \$1,284.70.

National Organizer Fund:

Sections, \$675.27; Sections and Branches, \$6.20; Federations: So. Slavonian picnic, \$6; Miscellaneous, \$28.
Total, \$715.47.

Radio Broadcasting Fund:

Sections, \$394.46; Federations (collected at Bulgarian convention), \$15.85.
Total, \$410.31.

of the last affair topping all previous records with the amount of \$3,362.12, as against \$3,064.84 the year before. This magnificent result is due in part to the fact that Sections and at least one state held independent affairs, the proceeds of which were turned over to the Bazaar Fund. The Ohio S.E.C., for example, alone raised close to \$300; a number of Sections and Branches jointly raised about \$480. In large part, also, the splendid total was due to cash donations collected on WEEKLY PEOPLE Bazaar Fund lists. On these approximately \$1,300 was raised.

During the four-year period a total of approximately \$43,700 was collected for the press funds, and a total of approximately \$74,710 for various National Office funds, or a grand fund total of \$118,410. Add to this large amount the money taken in through sales of WEEKLY PEOPLE and other Party literature, and we have the huge total income of \$199,081.56, or nearly \$200,000 in four short years. This amount, one-fifth of a million dollars, is exclusive of moneys taken in by the Federations, and used by them for their own purposes. And yet they say the S.L.P. is small, insignificant and without influence!! And it has been truthfully said that dollar for dollar the S.L.P. gets more for its money than any other organization. Our members and sympathizers have cause to be proud of this record, which, we hope, will be dwarfed by the achievements, all around, during the next four years. We have shown what can be accomplished with iron wills and a spirit of determination that refuses to recognize such a thing as failure.

Internal Disturbances.

The four years that have passed since our last convention have witnessed an extraordinary degree of disruption within our movement. That this should have been so is, of course, regrettable, but it is, after all, understandable. There are at least four reasons to be advanced in explanation of this phenomenon: (1) The fact of general capitalist disintegration and demoralization; (2) The growing realization of the fact that the S.L.P. is the one invincible and eventually conquering Party; (3) The growing desire, prompted by its desperate situation, on the part of capitalism and its reform agencies, to destroy, if possible, the revolutionary Party of the American proletariat; and (4) the ever growing impatience of the Party with respect to muddleheaded and sentimental disturbers of the Party's peace.

As to the first: Capitalism has unquestionably definitely entered the stage of decay, degeneracy and general demoralization during the last four years to a greater extent than has been the case during any similar period in the past. The effect of so tremendous a source of demoralization cannot be wholly without its effect even on the revolutionary movement. Individuals in the past who never before had occasion to worry particularly about making a living, now at times may find it necessary to resort to methods in order to keep alive that will bring them into conflict with the Party's principles and standards. That S.L.P. members should not succumb whatever their plight and despite temptations, is true, but at this point we are not concerned so much with the

morals, as with the *fact* of such yielding to the demoralizing influences of capitalist decadence and dissolution. Then, again, some of those in the past who found it comparatively easy to conform to S.L.P. discipline, now sometimes find it irksome, and this for a variety of reasons. Perhaps the alleged slow progress of our Party begins to chafe on some; perhaps the "lures" offered by the sensationalists have had a corroding effect on their intellects and clearness of vision; and so forth. Such weak elements would in any case probably have succumbed later, for the same or for other reasons.

As to the second: That there is a growing all-around realization that the S.L.P. is destined to become one of the chief vehicles leading to the Revolution cannot be doubted by S.L.P. members. The scientific and logical, yet withal simple and comprehensive program of the Party, is beginning to appeal to more and more workers and other intelligent and serious students of social trends. The aggressive posture of the Party undoubtedly attracts many who may not have made a thorough study of its program. De Leon once observed that there might conceivably be a danger "that an aggressive Party like the S.L.P. runs the risk of attracting impudent ignoramuses or immodestly overbearing individuals"—which, however (he added), would, if and when it happened, be offset by the sound poise of the S.L.P. Undoubtedly, as the hour of the Revolution draws nearer many will join—or attempt to join—who possess neither the mental capacity for grasping fully the Party's principles, nor the self-discipline

which would enable them to function usefully in the Party. When such elements, nevertheless, slip into the S.L.P., we are almost sure to have trouble.

As to the third: Unquestionably the opposition to the S.L.P. grows in the measure that its logical program is seen to meet, more and more, the revolutionary need of the working class. Hence, capitalism, or its reform allies and servants, will without doubt attempt to frustrate our efforts or nullify their effect, by fostering or encouraging disruptive outbreaks within our Party. We who are convinced that the S.L.P. alone offers a menace to capitalist rule, must, as a matter of inescapable logic, likewise accept the conclusion that capitalism will spare no effort at keeping us from reaching the working class at large, from which it also follows that individuals from time to time will be sent into our Party in order to breed distrust, demoralization, dissension or factionalism. They may even send such individuals into the S.L.P. for no other reason than to have them appear as "deserting the cause"; or, by getting themselves expelled, such agents of capitalism may hope to draw sympathetic, though perhaps misled, members out with them, thereby hoping to lend color to the slanderous statement that the S.L.P. expels members faster than it takes in new members—and, impliedly, for trivial causes. As De Leon once put it:

"It [the S.L.P.] knows that physical, mental and moral cripples are apt to get into its ranks for the express purpose of gaining notoriety by desertion. Such a Party, instead of being dishonored by the 'desert-

ers,' is glad of the occasion that rids it of them."

Finally, as to the fourth: Obviously, the Party is growing ever more impatient with those who give signs of being trouble-makers, or of being unable to stand the strict discipline of the organization. For, as De Leon observed, "at no epoch is ORGANIZATION and implied DISCIPLINE so important a factor as just the epoch of Revolution." Those who might wish the Party to relax its discipline, who might desire more so-called tolerance, have a completely distorted notion of what the S.L.P. principle and program imply. Not *less*, but *more* strictness in organizational matters is required, the more the demoralization in capitalist society proceeds. To be sure, patience and tolerance, in their proper places, are virtues. But they cease to be so when misapplied. "Virtue itself," says Shakespeare, "turns vice being misapplied." The Party's experience has amply demonstrated the truth of this. The time eventually comes when patience ceases to be virtue, and becomes transformed into its very opposite, vice. The moment inevitably arrives when tolerance ceases to be the means of insuring peace and unity within the Party, becoming instead the compounder of corruption, inciter of treason to principles, and promoter of dis-unity and anarchy in Party affairs. The Party cannot, without surrendering its integrity, yield on matters concerning organizational discipline. It certainly *will* not do so, being the kind of a Party it is. It is the unhealthy body which finds it difficult to eliminate waste or impure elements, the organs for such purposes having

become diseased. Contrariwise, it is the healthy body which promptly eliminates all such impure matter. And so in the healthy Party of the working class. That those to whom are meted out drastic action should feel resentful is, perhaps, not to be wondered at, if one grants that they were merely stupid and generally unfit. "The social revolution," said De Leon, "is a jealous mistress, and oftentimes her conduct seems cruel toward her one-time devotees. She demands unswerving devotion, and punishes relentlessly the slightest unfaithfulness. He who does not know that, and, slipping, feels her lash, cannot complain without convicting himself of puerile ignorance. His the blame, and no one else's."

In the light of these considerations, the wonder, perhaps, should be not that we have suffered so much from disruption these four years, but that we have not suffered infinitely more. Viewed concretely, however, we can all agree that we have had our fill of disrupters and disruptions, particularly during the year just passed. (During the last year 38 were expelled, not including the dozen or so eliminated with the expulsion of former Section Alameda County, Calif.)

The details of all the disruptive outbreaks (except last year's) have been dealt with in the reports of the National Secretary to the N.E.C. There is no need of going into details here, each and every one during the three years from 1932 being duly recorded in the printed proceedings of the N.E.C. sessions for 1933, 1934 and 1935. The first serious disruption was in Schenectady

where the Section was expelled. The Schenectady disruption followed the usual course: Disregard of Party discipline; defiance of the organization; slander and vilification of the Party and its officers; and finally expulsion. And then the almost invariable post-expulsion development: Joining up with one of the disruptive groups whose mission it seems to be (apart from proving again and again the correctness of the S.L.P. Law of Disruption) to act as the garbage can for the rubbish thrown out by the S.L.P.

The Schenectady disrupters were particularly vicious and slanderous in their utterances concerning the national officers of the Party. To illustrate the utter lack of sense and rationalism on the part of disrupters in general, the following incident might be noted: Scarcely two years prior to the trouble in Section Schenectady (but before the advent of the chief trouble-maker) the Section (in 1931) had adopted a resolution in which was expressed the confidence of the Section in the Party and its national officers. The resolution reads as if it might have been adopted by a loyal Section today in condemnation of, let us say, the recent batch of California disrupters, and for that reason, and to preserve it for the record, it is reproduced here:

"Whereas, There seems to be a concerted attack by disrupters against the Socialist Labor Party to attack the integrity of our National Officers, the object, undoubtedly being to weaken the Party Organization, and

"Whereas, this has an effect to hamper the S.L.P. in carrying out

its mission to educate the working class into its historical mission to overthrow the capitalist system by Political Action and Ind. Unionism,

"Therefore, be it resolved by Section Schenectady, at its regular business meeting July 6th, that we hereby declare ourselves in full accord with the Party's tactics and policies, and do also affirm our unshaken confidence in our National Officials; and that we condemn those persons who are trying to poison the minds of our members for the purpose of impairing our work and mission. And be it further

"Resolved, that any member giving aid and comfort to any of these disruptive agencies shall answer to the charge of disloyalty to the S.L.P. which has in its keeping the Proletarian Revolution, and be it further

"Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the National Secretary, and a copy be spread on the minutes of this meeting.

(Signed) "F. E. Ernst,
"Sec'y. Section Schenectady."

The fact that the members of this same Section which passed this resolution were largely the ones who later turned disrupters, and committed the very crimes against the S.L.P. which they had previously condemned and denounced in others—that fact serves to emphasize rather than weaken the valuable lesson to be drawn from the incident.

Since the expulsion of the disrupters in Schenectady the Party has carried on an active campaign in that city with the result that within the near future we shall have a Section there that will prove a credit to the Party. Section Rensselaer

County, cooperating with the New York S.E.C. and the National Office, have contributed very materially to the progress made in Schenectady.

A revolting interlude was the trouble caused in Section Kings County through the expulsion of a lawyer by the name of Klein. The details are given in the N.E.C. report of 1933. With him were expelled a group of his supporters, notorious among whom were a couple named Timmerman. This precious corrupt anti-S.L.P. clique lost no time in joining the local garbage can and to link up with the Schenectady disrupters who, by the way, immediately invoked the assistance of the expelled lawyer, proudly including, in the inevitable lampoon they issued, a letter from the said lawyer, counselling them as only such a one can do it—and in a manner, and for a purpose, wholly suited to his renegade clients.

There were minor difficulties in other parts of the country, as also recorded in the N.E.C. report of 1933. The next year showed an increase in these disturbances and disruptive outbreaks. There were minor cases in Providence, R.I., in Buffalo, N.Y., in Fort Wayne and South Bend, Ind. In Los Angeles there was a rather serious disturbance following the Monette-Strebig trouble the previous year. The matter was settled—temporarily only, however, as we now know. In Minneapolis there was a continuation of the trouble in which Mrs. Wm. Nelson had been the center. A typical egotistical specimen, one Anderson, challenged the Section's decisions and authority, and subsequently followed the usual course of the or-

ganization anarchist, and, being expelled, promptly landed in the garbage can together with the previously discarded rubbish in that city. In two important Ohio Sections, Cleveland and Cincinnati, we had serious troubles, causing the organization much loss of time and energy. In the former H. B. Strebig (who had previously caused trouble in Los Angeles) was the center of the disturbances, while in the latter, first Dick O'Neill, and later W. L. Heckinger, figured prominently. The latter gentleman descended lower in the scale of disruption than the average disrupter, manifesting a degree of viciousness and vindictiveness uncommon even in renegades. The National Secretary, believing Heckinger was sincere until there no longer was any room for doubt, wrote him a long letter (in the summer of 1934) from which the concluding part is here quoted:

"If you leave us, it will be a matter of regret with me, but the revolutionary movement will go on just the same, and in fact there will be greater determination on the part of those who have learned their S.L.P. lesson so well, that no matter what happens they stick to the ship until its cargo is safely in port. Finally, in conclusion, let me make this observation: He who resigns from the S.L.P. resigns from the principles, for 'The Principles and the Organization are one.' He who resigns from the principle, ipso facto renounces hope and belief in the Industrial Republic of Labor. There is no escape from this conclusion."

The real test of a thoroughly clear, well grounded S.L.P. man lies in his acceptance or rejection of

this principle. If he accepts it, and acts accordingly, we have a pillar of the S. L. P. If he rejects it, we have a weakling, or one ignorant of the meaning of Socialism, or De Leonism, hence a potential source of trouble.

It is only fair to add (by way of contrast) that Dick O'Neill, after being solicited by the scavengers, definitely and firmly rebuffed them in a letter which was reprinted in the Field Notes of July 14, 1934, and from which, for the record, the following is quoted:

"I received in the mail today two letters from you and a bundle of papers forwarded from my former address; also a notice from Western Union regarding a telegram which was later read to me over the telephone.

"My first reaction was to ignore your correspondence entirely, but upon second consideration I concluded that by remaining silent, you and your group might labor under the delusion that I was up in the air and a likely prospect for membership in your 'party' of S.L.P. haters. I understand your group well and I would not associate myself with a movement of its nature under any circumstances. The Socialist Labor Party is the revolutionary movement in the United States. I am as certain of it now as I was when I joined and during the years I spent within its ranks. That I am no longer a member of it does not detract from its sound Marxian position.

"In the future, sir, consider me an enemy of your disruptive gang. You are children playing at soldier."

O'Neill's letter to the contemptible

gang of slummists, anarchists and S.L.P. vilifiers illustrates the manner in which this degenerate crew should be treated; moreover, it further illustrates how a person expelled from the Party should conduct himself if his expulsion were due to general incompatibility rather than to planned mischief, and deliberate disruption.

In Louisville we had some minor trouble with a gentleman whose name and conduct can best be described by the German word "schmutzig." He performed like the regulation disrupter puppet: "Pull this string, bend this way; pull that string, jump that way." He too, promptly joined the scavengers, the haven of all unclean or unbalanced minds. During his brief hour this wretch slandered and vilified in the accustomed fashion. The rest is silence.

The year following witnessed the culmination of the Heckinger incident, soon followed by another disruptive incident which involved two members recently re-admitted, Slomer and Blettner. The latter was readmitted by mistake, he having previously been guilty of gross misconduct, a fact which unfortunately was overlooked by the reorganized Section. As a condition for retaining his membership, Blettner was instructed to repudiate his previous misconduct and slanderous remarks concerning loyal Party members. Refusing to do this, he was promptly expelled. His pal, Slomer, thereupon wrote vile and vitriolic letters to the Section and the National Secretary, wherein the gentleman assailed and slandered the Section and the Party's National Secretary. He, too, was promptly expelled. The

Section in Cincinnati has since made splendid progress.

In Bridgeport early in 1935 trouble broke out, the moving spirit here being one Mueller, a vindictive, vulgar and crude organization anarchist. He and his three pals were soon expelled, and were promptly picked up by the scavengers. In fact, it developed that these scamps were in negotiations with these scavengers (that is to say, they were conspiring with enemies on the outside) even before they were out of the Party. It later developed that one of these disrupters had been in contact (regularly or otherwise) with the Schenectady scavenger station. There were the customary sordid and revolting incidents—treacheries, underground tactics, slanders and general vilifications of the Party and its officers. And, of course, the inevitable lampoon. In keeping with his slum proletarianism, Mueller made a special point of the fact that a couple of the Bridgeport comrades were non-wage workers. Again and again De Leon denounced the viciousness of condemning members, merely because they were not wage workers. Shortly after the split De Leon said:

"The mere fact that a man is a capitalist should not be reason enough to exclude him from the Party. If he actually and uncompromisingly plants himself upon the proletarian class interests, he should, could and would be admitted. But he would have to toe the chalk-mark. The slightest dereliction on his part would justly arouse suspicion."

And later this:

"The labor movement is entitled to, and needs all the knowledge of

the age. Much of this knowledge cannot be the contribution of the proletariat. It has had no opportunity to gather such knowledge. Such knowledge must be the contribution of men from the upper classes who plant themselves upon the class interests of the proletariat. No sensible workingman would exclude such contributors. All sensible workingmen will invite them. The workingman who does contrary does not do so in the interest of his class. *He has some vicious scheme to nurse*, and he insults his class by a posture that implies his own class is too dense to see through him."

And still later:

"For a person who follows a scientific occupation it is no credit to his scientific method . . . to say 'the S.L.P. will not accept the rich!' The S.L.P. welcomes the rich as well as the poor. What the S.L.P. does not welcome is the man who proceeds from the principle that his money is a patent of knowledge, and pushes his nonsense with his money, and thereby corrupts the movement."

And finally this:

"Be not too denunciatory of millionaires in the movement. These are evils only when they seek to debauch the movement by inoculating it with millionaires' vices of thought. Otherwise they are desirable things."

To be sure, we are not to expect that millionaires and well-to-do persons in general will clamor to be admitted to the S.L.P. There is no danger of that. But when such vicious nonsense is mouthed by a trouble-maker, it is time to expose

the nonsense in all its viciousness and stupidity. And the gang which opens arms wide to accept such a vulgar and stupid person likewise accepts, willy-nilly, his vulgar slum-proletarianism and his anti-De Leon nonsense.

During the last year we have had to deal with a disruptive situation which tried the endurance and patience of the National Organization to the utmost. And the combined efforts of as unscrupulous a group as rose to plague the Party in many a year fairly exhausted your N.E.C. Sub-Committee and the National Secretary. As the story is told in all its essential details in the Schnur removal document, there is no need of devoting a great deal of time to it now. The climax was reached with the removal of the faithless N.E.C. member from Region 7, Paul F. Schnur. By a vast majority vote (1,714 in favor, 21 against—most of them, about 18 or 19, from California, representing the residuum of the disrupters in that state), the membership hurled this treacherous individual from the important post he occupied—a post of honor and great responsibility. A large number of members commented on the traitorous conduct of Schnur and his fellow disrupters. Extracts from a few of these are reprinted here. The first is from Section Toronto in the form of a resolution unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That Section Toronto, Socialist Labor Party, while unable to cast a ballot in the matter, unanimously commends the National Secretary and the Executive of the Party in its action toward the disrupt-

tive element in California; and be it further

"Resolved, That the steps taken by the National Executive toward the removal of the N.E.C. member from Region No. 7, who betrayed the high office entrusted to him by the Party, be concurred in by this Section; and that this

"Resolution be spread upon the minutes of the Section and a copy forwarded to the National Office."

Our Canadian S.L.P. Secretary, the S.L.P. veteran, Edward Farrell, briefly commented:

"Am personally, like most who have known Paul Schnur, terribly disappointed in him, and it is to be hoped that the next convention will provide means by which such incidents can never again happen in the S.L.P."

Subsequently, Comrade Farrell sent a resolution adopted by the Canadian Executive Committee, which is here reproduced:

"Whereas, In view of the terrible waste of time and energy, and the heavy costs incurred, due to the disruption attempted in California, in which the previous State Executive Committee, played such a traitorous part, aided and abetted by Paul F. Schnur, the then N.E.C. member from Region No.7;

"Whereas, The Canadian Executive Committee recognizes that this serious attempt at disruption may not prove to be an entire loss, in that this severe lesson may serve to guide and guard the membership of the S.L.P. from another such long and persistent effort at disruption; therefore be it

"Resolved, By this Canadian Executive Committee, that we give our

whole-hearted approval to the National Executive Committee, the Sub-Committee, and to National Secretary Arnold Petersen, on whom was placed such a heavy burden by this dastardly attempt at disruption, and further we trust that the National Convention will provide additional safeguards, and swifter means, of dealing with any such attempts in the future."

And from a letter written by Comrade McNaughten, of Ottawa, we quote:

"I knew Schnur in the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, had much to do with him, one time and another. Often wondered what happened to him that enabled him to get to where he did in the S.L.P. You have done a splendid job."

Comrade Herman Simon of Connecticut, who personally knew most of the disrupters, and particularly Schnur, writes the following:

"I have almost finished reading the report of the California disruption. Knowing the individuals involved personally, the whole affair has been of especial interest. It sickened me to the core of my being as I read the tale (from 2 a.m. to 8.30 a.m., the next morning). With the exception of Comrade, pardon, Mr. Schnur, I was not the least surprised and know, if I know anything, that the very best thing was done with the elimination of Plato, Robineau, Freedman, Blair and Stevens. As for Schnur, I would not have believed it, if I hadn't read it with my own eyes. His attitude, his reasoning, his activities were unbelievably stupid and criminal, to say the least; but it will always be a matter of wonder with me how the

Schnur that I knew could have arrived at that state. Was it Shakespeare who said, 'There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy.'

"Allow me to state that despite the tremendous loss of money and time and what must have been an unbearable tax on your mental and physical being, there is one good thing that comes out of it a lesson invaluable, bitter as it is, in correct Party procedure and discipline, and the transcending importance of each and every comrade in the Party to make it impossible for such things to happen again."

Comrade Wm. Foy, of Minneapolis, writes:

"Though the sinister character of the disruptive forces in California is *enough* to chill one with fears for the future of our movement, the alacrity and unanimity with which the Coast Sections have shown their abhorrence of the disrupters should hearten all of us, from the National Secretary down, for while it shows what power disruption has in diverting the Party's energies from agitational work, it also demonstrates what a slight dent it can make in the armor of the S.L.P. It also furnishes further proof that the enemy will not stand idly by while the S.L.P. agitates for the organization of the political and economic forces that will encompass his ruin.

"The staunch stand of the Coast Sections and N.E.C. members would seem to render weak and superfluous any assurance of sympathy or support offered by the undersigned, yet he cannot refrain from swelling the chorus that will surely arise from

every subdivision of the Party."

Comrade Catching of Portland briefly comments:

"Read the report on the California matter. My head still whirls from the effort of trying to follow the gyrations. I don't see how you managed to keep your mental balance. If ever there was a deliberate attempt to scuttle the Party that was it."

And this from an S.L.P. veteran of 1893, Comrade John C. Butterworth:

"The 24-page (Schnur) report is a master stroke of education for the membership of the Party. It puts the members on their guard for future disrupters. While it is a dastardly crime to compel the Party to spend so much time and money, the efforts are not wasted. It is a great lesson."

A member-at-large, Comrade Newbert, was moved to make these remarks:

"Regarding the antics of the California clowns, one might say that all the blood and tears of a world wouldn't be too much to consecrate the petty egos of such simpletons—naturally!"

"But I'm inclined to think also that there is something more here than sheer human cussedness; something more sinister—though that is sinister enough!"

"Anyway, all who get in the way of the Socialist Labor Party will be taught that there is one thing to be feared and respected, if nothing else."

Another member-at-large, Comrade Clements, residing in Canada, writes:

"I have also read the report re disruption in California which I consider a very valuable document. I have enriched my knowledge in doing so, thanks to Party discipline."

Comrade E. L. Dodge, of Section Salem, Mass., observes:

"I have just finished reading 'As to Proposed Removal of N.E.C. Member from Region 7,' and to say the *least* I am WEARY. What a constitution you must have to be able to stand that barrage. Cannot imagine such conditions prevailing here—with our able Marxian—John Aiken as N.E.C. member from Region No. 1. Am confident that it will never happen again."

And from Comrade J. C. Volertsen, organizer of our Section in Rochester, N.Y., a rather lengthy letter was received, from which the following is quoted:

"I have just completed reading the 24-page account of the disruption in California, and possessing, as I do, a very limited vocabulary, the only way I could naturally express my reaction to such stupid treachery would be by the use of profanity so I will let another's words sum up the situation, 'to be clever in big things, is to be stupid.'

"However, 'it is an ill wind that blows no good.' This 'ill wind' has taught me several good lessons in Party procedure as well as pointed out the true insignificance of the individual as compared with the importance of the revolutionary movement."

And from a number of other members and Sections similar comments were received. Except from known disrupters not one known voice was

raised in support of the traitor. There were one or two instances where members did not fully understand the issue, or failed to read the document. A member-at-large in Massachusetts voted *against* removal of Schnur. When he was questioned he admitted that he had not read the document, and he explained his negative vote by saying that he thought the California comrades would settle the matter! Subsequently this comrade wrote to the Massachusetts S.E.C., saying in part, that he had now "given the matter much serious thought, and have reread the statement from the National Secretary that you sent me." And he adds: "I was amazed by the account of the activity of the disrupters in California. There is no doubt in my mind that the time had come for action by the National Secretary and the N.E.C. Sub-Committee. I approve every act of the National Secretary and the N.E.C. Sub-Committee in dealing with the disrupters in California."

This incident is cited chiefly to remind ourselves that matters of such importance should not be dealt with lightly, or as something that concerns someone else rather than oneself. An injury and affront to the Party is an injury and affront to each and every member. Party democracy imposes upon the membership full Party responsibility.

As has been pointed out repeatedly, the California trouble did not start with the charges that were filed against Stevens for scabbing. The Stevens incident, and subsequent developments, constituted but the last phase of a series of difficulties that go back to 1923—and perhaps even earlier. However, in 1923

the Party had to deal with a major disruptive situation which was directly related to the question then agitating the Party—i.e., whether the "W.I.I.U." should be continued or not. As a direct consequence of the stand then taken by an aggressive group, headed by one Pfister, the Section was expelled and reorganized. For a while it barely existed, was subsequently (in effect) reorganized, and carried on excellent work for a while. Credit for this and previous constructive work goes largely to the then organizer, and several times N.E.C. member, R. W. Stevens, now expelled. During the years that followed we witnessed several disturbances which invariably revealed Stevens, Comrade Shenkan, and others upholding Party decencies, and the correct Party position re the questions involved, and the Robineau-Blair-Plato combination (with such changes in personnel as were caused by the coming or going of particular individuals, without such changes in individuals having any effect on the complexion of the group itself) defying Party proprieties, and supporting men and measures alien to the true S.L.P. tradition. Time and again the trouble was settled without violent eruption. It is clear to us now that if the undesirable element had been eliminated in 1933 (when the last trouble occurred) we might have been spared the last general disruptive outbreak in California. Schnur, then organizer for the Party, effected a "compromise," which, in the light of later events, probably was merely the effecting of an understanding between the corruptionists in Los Angeles and the Schnur-

Ruiz fraternity, whereby the stage was to be set for the later elimination of Shenkan, Stevens and others, and for such *national* conquests as the vain ambitions of the disrupters may have prompted them to hope for. While much of this must remain conjecture for the moment, there are sufficient indications that a plot was brewing which involved nothing less than "capture" of the National Office. This reference is not, of course, to be understood to mean that there is anything wrong in members expressing, at the proper time and place, a desire for a change in national officers in the Party. As De Leon so succinctly put it: "Office, in the S.L.P., is not A RIGHT, it is a TRUST. The trustee may at any time revoke his trust. This is a principle that the S.L.P. insists shall be introduced in the Socialist Republic; in the meantime it puts that principle in practice within its own organization." But the disreputable element in California evidently had no hope of being elected to office in an orderly manner, or because of superior ability or merit, but rather as a result of underground ties through which, apparently, they hoped to discredit the present national officers.

It is disagreeable to have to say this, but apparently the one who first may have put the secretarial bee in Ruiz's bonnet (indirectly in any case) is a comrade who is unquestionably loyal, however indiscreet he may have expressed himself at times, and particularly in 1933. You will remember that in the Schnur removal document there is reprinted a letter from Comrade A. S. Dowler, of Section Los Angeles, in which he made the point that the disrupters had "conspired to capture the National Organization, replace you [the present National Secretary] with one of their number (probably Ruiz), make Plato National Organizer, etc., etc." Apparently Comrade Dowler's merciless castigation of the disrupters caused them to fly into a rage. And so they began to dig out letters written in 1933 by Comrade Dowler to Robineau and others in order to show that Comrade Dowler himself had made *uncomplimentary* references to the National Secretary, and *complimentary* references to Plato and his cronies. In one of these letters, strange as it may seem in view of his letter quoted in the Schnur removal document, it was Comrade Dowler who probably first suggested the possibility of making Ruiz National Secretary. Whatever Comrade Dowler at that time may have thought about it, it is evident that he at no time was a party to any conspiracy; it is further established that the views he expressed in 1933 (and evidently based on his misjudging Plato whose peculiar "talents" and character were quite well known even then at the National Office) are the very opposite of the views he now holds. With that low cunning that characterizes Robineau, Plato and Co., they evidently thought that to publish the 1933 letters of Dr. Dowler would get the latter into trouble with the Party. Their rat-hole conception of Party organizational matters naturally prompted them to form such a conclusion. They erred fatally in that they applied their slummist standards where such obviously could not apply. Wittingly or unwittingly, a present member of Section Los Angeles, Mrs. Sara Morgan, wife of

our late Comrade H. Morgan (who for five years lived in Vallejo, while she remained in Los Angeles) lent herself to these degrading tactics. Photostat copies of Comrade Dowler's letters to his own brother, and to others, were made, and despite Mrs. Morgan's protestations, the hand of the crafty Robineau is plainly evident, seeing that his handwriting appears on one of the letters which Mrs. Morgan claims *she* herself caused to be reproduced. The substance of Mrs. Morgan's letters has already been given. The first was dated April 1, and the following is the reply sent her by the National Secretary:

"April 4, 1936.
"Mrs. Sara Morgan,
"Los Angeles, Calif.

"Dear Comrade:

"I have received your letter of April 1 with photostat copies of letters from Comrade Dowler to our late Comrade H. Morgan, and of one addressed to 'Walter,' whom you identify as a brother of Comrade A. S. Dowler, the letters being dated December 9, 1933, and June 10, 1933. Before proceeding further allow me to say that Section Los Angeles acted for the best interests of the Party in refusing to give any consideration to these letters, and that you should have thought that at this late date they could serve a useful Party purpose is a sad commentary on your understanding of Party principles and proprieties. I prefer to believe that you did not conceive of this idea yourself. The elaborate procedure of making photostat copies of the letters; the general tenor of your own letter to me; and the obvious disruptive motive

behind the whole business, suggest that a crafty mind is directing this move to which you have lent your aid. In proceeding on this assumption I am doing you the honor of supposing that you could not, and would not, be capable of stooping to such obviously degrading methods—methods that reveal the sort of low cunning one has come to associate with minds of the Robineau-Ruiz-Plato type. If you insist that you are solely responsible for bringing up this matter now, and in such a manner, I shall, of course, have to revise my opinion of yourself. But, as stated, I do prefer to believe that the comrade wife of our late Comrade H. Morgan could not be capable of resorting to such low tactics. So much for that.

"You say in your letter:

"Some of these letters had been written to Walter Dowler, a brother of Comrade A. S. Dowler, but who is not a member. These letters were apparently sent on to Comrade Hayden Morgan and Sandell by Walter Dowler."

"You fail to explain why a letter written by one brother to another should have been sent to a third (and fourth) person—the reference to Sandell is utterly unintelligible. Is it possible that someone rifled the private file of Walter Dowler? Why Walter Dowler, a non-member, should have violated the confidence of his brother by sending the letter to H. Morgan, or any one else, needs a lot of explaining."

"You add:

"I also found a copy of a letter written to O. H. Robineau by Comrade Dowler. Opinions expressed in these letters are in conflict with opinions expressed by Comrade

Dowler in letters quoted in the *Johnnur removal material*."

"I shall return to this alleged 'conflict' presently.

You go on to quote from a letter allegedly written by Comrade Dowler to his brother Walter, dated November 21, 1933. (Why you did not have photostat copies made of that is a mystery.) In this letter, if authentic, Comrade Dowler expresses some opinions, and makes references about myself with which, of course, I cannot agree. It is, to be sure, the right of any Party member to think what he pleases about the National Secretary of the Party. To give expression to such opinions to others, offensively and in a discourteous manner, is another matter. But assuming that Comrade Dowler was right in his estimate of the National Secretary—supposing a member thinks that 'Petersen seems to enjoy controversy over non-essentials'; that the National Secretary thinks he is 'infallible,' and that to prove him (the National Secretary) wrong would prompt the latter to 'prefer charges of lese majesty' against any one uttering such foolish nonsense—supposing all this, *what has that got to do with the facts proving Robineau, Plato & Co. liars, boodlers, fakers and general all-around disruptive undesirables?* Do you mean to assert that because Comrade Dowler made *uncomplimentary* references to the National Secretary and *complimentary* references to Plato and Robineau in 1933, therefore in 1936 these two latter gentlemen are *ipso facto* absolved from all their crimes against the Socialist Labor Party? If you do not mean to assert that, precisely what is it you mean to establish by sending

these letters to me?

"Moreover, granted that Comrade Dowler did make these *uncomplimentary* references to the National Secretary—which references, if actually made, I naturally resent—what has that got to do with the fact that Comrade Dowler is supporting the Party organization and principles as a true S.L.P. member is expected to do? The issues involved in these important Party questions are far above petty considerations of personalities. I would much rather that a member think the National Secretary 'enjoys controversy' (which he decidedly does not); that he thinks himself 'infallible' (which, alas, he does not!); that he 'loves the last word' (which he *does*, if there is a Party principle involved); I would rather, I repeat, that a member think these and other and similar things about the National Secretary, *provided he works for the organization and protects its interests*, than to have such a member think the National Secretary is an angel, and then go out and stab the Party in the back. I know this must seem a strange doctrine to egomaniacs, slum proletarians and anarchists in general who know and care for one thing only: their own petty selves and personalities. I can respect Comrade Dowler's Party loyalty and devotion to principles, even though I could not respect his 1933 opinions about me.

"As for the 'conflict' you speak of, there is none. The fact that Comrade Dowler held a high opinion of Robineau and Plato in 1933 has nothing to do with the fact that in 1936 he *knows* they are disrupters and all the other just things he said about them. For Comrade Dowler

very emphatically says (in the letter reprinted in the Schnur removal document) that he 'backed Plato so long as he was of service to the Party, but when he became a saboteur and drunk' he dropped him. What conflict do you find here? And to emphasize the point, Comrade Dowler added immediately following the part quoted: 'The gang realize now that I am and always have been an ORGANIZATION man.' That's the point which you seem to have overlooked.

"And now, my dear comrade, let me give you a bit of advice: Don't ever act on the principle that two wrongs make one right, or that you can judge the character of sensible and decent people by the standards of scamps and slummists. If you had any notion that because of Comrade Dowler's uncomplimentary references to me in 1933 I would have flown into a rage, and demanded the 'head' of Comrade Dowler, and thereupon recognized the sterling (!) worth of such unspeakable disrupters as Plato, Robineau & Co., you have judged me by standards you should have known better than to employ. If, on the other hand, you had adduced evidence that in 1933 Comrade Dowler was plotting against the Party, that would have been another story.

"The disgraceful performance to which you have lent your name, suggests strongly that it was intended as the basis of a lampoon. In fact, on the basis of my past experience, I have little doubt in the matter, whether you are aware of it or not. We know that we are dealing with a gang of disrupters as unprincipled and unscrupulous as any that was dealt with in the past. We know

that there is no weapon so foul, no method so low, but that they employ them. There are unmistakable indications that the filthy disrupters, generally referred to as the Bronx scavengers, are in correspondence and close touch with the leading California disrupters. But if the stuff you sent me is intended for a lampoon, it is to be hoped that through one of those mysterious channels known only to these underground creatures a copy of this letter may be included. When I say 'it is to be hoped,' I am really saying too much. For in the final analysis it is, of course, utterly immaterial what these slum dwellers do, or abstain from doing.

"As for yourself, let me say to you, that if you haven't already done so, the only decent thing you can now do is to repudiate the rotten crew which has tried so desperately to destroy our organization in California, and who represent the very lowest in the scale of humanity. For you, the wife of H. Morgan, and apparently a decent person, to be associated, directly or indirectly, with such scum, is certainly no credit to you.

"Yours,

"First, last, and *all the time*,
for the Socialist Labor Party,
principles and organization—

"Arnold Petersen,
"National Sec'y S.L.P."

"P.S. Upon hastily reviewing correspondence that passed between Comrade Dowler and others, and the National Office, in November, 1933, I found the following letter from Comrade Dowler:

"Glendale, California,
"November 23, 1933.

"Arnold Petersen,
"National Sec'y S.L.P.,
"45 Rose St.,
"New York City, N.Y.

"Dear Comrade: After re-reading your letter to Comrade O. H. Robineau, organizer, Section Los Angeles, 20th ult., relative to Comrade Roland Plato's qualifications as a Coast organizer, I find that I was mistaken in my assertion as to the attitude of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, so herewith take pleasure in withdrawing it. Your letter 17th instant on this subject received.

"Fraternally,
"A. S. Dowler."

"This letter is self-explanatory, and confirms the view held of Comrade Dowler, that he is an organization man, and not afraid to own himself wrong when proven wrong.

"A.P."

The second letter from Mrs. Morgan was much like unto the first. In her second letter of April 7, however, she assumes full responsibility for having written the first letter, and for having had photostat copies made of Comrade Dowler's letters—a statement apparently belied by her obvious lack of experience in such technical matters. With the second letter she enclosed a photostat copy of a letter written by Dr. Dowler to Robineau in 1933. She fails to explain how she came into possession of a letter written to a disrupter who has been expelled almost a year—and containing a notation by Robineau that could only have been made very recently. The reply of the National Secretary follows:

"April 10, 1936.

"Mrs. Sara Morgan,
"Los Angeles, Calif.
"Dear Comrade:

"This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 7 with enclosure. I regret that time does not permit my answering you in detail. I should like to know, however, how you secured possession of the letter from Dr. Dowler to Robineau, dated November 24, 1933, wherein he suggests A. J. Ruiz 'for A.P.'s job'—i.e., as National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party? Surely that letter was not found among the papers of our late Comrade Morgan. There is a notation on the Dowler letter in Robineau's handwriting which appears to have been made recently. If made at the time the letter was received by Robineau there would have been no point to saying that Stevens was the N.E.C. member since that was common knowledge. And if made later, it seems to us that it could only have been done very recently, *that is, when the photostat copy was to be made*. Robineau either gave the letter or the photostat copy to you, or to someone who in turn handed it to you. I wonder which it is.

"You will not wonder at my doubts and skepticism when you hear that the organizer of Section Los Angeles told me that Blair, expelled disrupter, is showing similar photostat copies to sympathizers of the Party. Surely a strange coincidence, is it not?

"I must agree with you that Comrade Dowler's reference to Ruiz 'for A.P.'s job,' and his reference in the letter reprinted in the Schnur document, viz., the alleged desire of the disrupters to 'replace you [A.P.]

with one of their number (probably Ruiz)....' are inconsistent. It is inconsistent, not because Dowler in 1933 thought one thing, and now thinks another, but because there is no consistency in Dr. Dowler's blaming someone in 1936 for wanting to do something which he himself suggested in 1933. If it were reprehensible to suggest in 1935 or 1936 that Ruiz ought to be National Secretary, then in simple logic it was reprehensible to do so in 1933. The fact is, of course, that it is perfectly proper for a member to suggest a change in national officers, *provided it is done in orderly organization manner*. And again I must admit that this was not the case with Dr. Dowler.

"Regardless of whatever changes of opinion Dr. Dowler may have undergone since 1933, the conclusion seems inescapable that his suggestion made in 1933 was seized upon by the vain and witless Ruiz, and probably inflated his ego to the point where he really believed that he had been 'called,' and that he was destined to be the National Secretary. It is too bad, perhaps, that he so completely forgot his role as 'candidate,' and so completely proved himself an organization anarchist and an ass. For if he had behaved himself, and presented himself at the Party's National Convention as a candidate for the office of National Secretary, who knows but that he *might* have been elected? And wouldn't there have been shouts of 'Hosanna' in disrupterdom and similar circles if that had happened!

"Though it is clear that Comrade Dowler in 1935 had changed his opinion about Mr. Ruiz's qualifications as National Secretary, it is

self-evident that the disrupters took his 1933 reference very seriously. Some things that heretofore seemed obscure are becoming very much clarified. And for contributing in some measure to this clarification, you are entitled to some measure of recognition, though on the whole it is a matter relatively unimportant. You may rest assured that when the membership indicates with sufficient quantitative emphasis that another National Secretary is 'indicated,' I will step out with a sigh of *personal* relief.

"And now, if you will explain how the Robineau letter (with its obviously recent notation) came into your possession, I am satisfied to consider this incident closed.

"Fraternally yours,
"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

The following letter from Comrade Dowler to the National Secretary, dated April 8, closes the correspondence on this subject:

April 8, 1936.
"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary, S.L.P.
"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"I have your carbon copy of letter 4th inst. addressed to Comrade Sara Morgan. This is an attempt to revive and continue the fight of 1933 when Roland Plato was rejected as Coast organizer for the Party and which brought disruption to a head in California.

"I don't know how Comrade Sara Morgan obtained possession of my personal letters to her husband, also my brother, Walter R. Dowler, Oakland, Calif., unless she got them after Hayden Morgan's death, as the

Morgans have lived apart for over 6 years.

"If in 1933 I entertained any derogatory opinions of you, rest assured those are not my beliefs today. Had it not been for your vigilant actions and clear-headedness, coupled with the excellent work of Comrade Eric Hass, the Party in California would have been completely wrecked.

"The pirates and Party wreckers are exhausting every resource to continue their dirty work from the outside, now trying to create ill feeling between the National Office and myself.

"I am glad you look at this matter in a generous spirit, for with me the interests of the Party were always paramount, even when I mistakenly backed the element which turned traitor to Socialism and the S.L.P., but were performing useful service when I sustained them.

"I have been informed by Comrade Mack Johnson, who was present, that at a recent Section meeting I was viciously attacked by Comrade Sara Morgan and excoriated for deserting Plato, Robineau, et al. She was rebuked by the chairman, and I have heard nothing further about the matter, but I can't help wondering what Mrs. Morgan uses for brains. I hope the purification of the Party may soon be completed, for I have had to listen to three years of continual senseless wrangling, destructive to Party progress and the education of the workers. What will these crooks try next?

"Fraternally yours,
"Dr. A. S. Dowler."

The photostat copies referred to are, of course, at the disposal of the

convention. On the basis of this correspondence we may draw our own conclusions. But who can doubt that Robineau relayed—then or later—this suggestion of Dr. Dowler to Ruiz? And who can doubt that Dr. Dowler's 1933 reference to Ruiz found a resounding echo in the empty skull of that conceited gentleman? And who can doubt that this fact explains the amazing action and attitude of Ruiz, Schnur, et al., toward the vicious disrupter, Robineau? For they must have felt certain that they already had the National Organization in their pocket. And what a scoop that would be for the drunks, the boodlers, the fakers and liars in general — those who so cavalierly handled financial matters in Section Los Angeles that one of their own pals (Donald Giffen) had to admit, "We [i.e., Plato, Robineau, Blair, etc., etc.] were just haywire in handling these funds."

One can readily visualize how much this gang would have loved to have been given the chance of being "haywire" in the handling of the Party's national treasury! And one need not require many guesses as to how long that treasury would last, what with the army of job chasers, and their Communist and near-Communist pals, waiting hungrily at the gate!

Incidentally, the Dowler correspondence in 1933 grew out of the frustrated ambitions of Plato to become national organizer. The Sub-Committee had decided that he was unfit as national organizer, which evidently thoroughly enraged Plato and Robineau and others. The National Secretary had written several who knew Plato and his qualifications well. All of them counselled

against employing him, with the exception of Comrade Quinn who expressed no definite opinion as he had not met Plato for several years. It is of particular interest to note here what Plato's fellow-disrupter, Paul F. Schnur, had to say: "My unhesitating opinion," said Schnur in his letter to the National Secretary, dated November 6, 1933, "is that it would be INADVISABLE for the N.E.C. Sub-Committee to employ Comrade Plato as a National Organizer." (Caps in the original.)

While fundamentally the cause of the trouble was due to the struggle between the decent members in the Section who wanted to proceed along traditional S.L.P. lines, and those who desired to use the familiar methods of "pullerism" (to use De Leon's phrase), and who were hungering for jobs in the Sections and the State (and nationally as well)—while this struggle no doubt produced the disturbances and disruptions in the Section, there can hardly be any doubt that more judicious conduct on the part of Stevens might have minimized, and, possibly, prevented the violent disruption which finally took place and spread through the state. With wise and thoughtful handling, it seems not unreasonable to assume that it might have been possible to eliminate the slummist elements, together with the careerists and their foolish or unthinking supporters. But in saying this perhaps we are not taking sufficient account of the atmosphere that proverbially prevails in what sometimes is called the nation's madhouse—Los Angeles and Hollywood. It is perhaps not unreasonable to say, however, that the habit of Stevens to criticize freely

other members of the Section (in letters or otherwise) made it difficult at times to support him when he was in other respects right on Party questions. His letter to Section San Francisco in 1933 (referred to in the Schnur removal document) is an example of the kind of things he had no business to do. And his general conduct with regard to the strike (apart from any considerations as to whether it was *bona fide* or not) was not of the kind one has a right to expect from a judicious and well trained S.L.P. member. The element of doubt with regard to the strike being a *bona fide* one was so strong that it should have prompted him, without hesitation, to have given the benefit of that doubt to the side of those who contended it was *bona fide*. Instead of doing that, he chose to give battle on a question fraught with explosiveness, thereby ignoring De Leon's warning to avoid doing or saying things which might "throw the *bona fide* labor militant into dangerous proximity of thought with the out-and-out capitalist." By taking the course he did, Stevens furnished to the disorderly element in Section Los Angeles the handle to his undoing, which handle they were not slow to seize. And by thus being able to appear as if they were the upholders of the correct Party position, they were, at the same time, able to cover up (for the time being) their rascality, their conspiracy and organization anarchism. In acting as he did, Stevens not only terminated his own usefulness to the Party, but he inflicted injury on the Party which he had otherwise served so well during so many years.

With the disruptive conduct of Plato, Robineau, Blair, etc., the situ-

ation began to assume state-wide proportions, since the State Executive Committee now became involved. The details of this need not be recounted here, since the essential points relating to the part played by the S.E.C. have been fully covered in the Schnur removal document. It should be noted here, however, that the correspondence and contentions that emanated from the N.E.C. with respect to the various appeals it was called upon to handle, were not the first indication of that contentious backbiting and irrational method of argumentation on the part of Ruiz with which we were to become so thoroughly familiar later. The first definite indication of that was discovered in what was called the Santens case. This case involved two members, John and Raymond Santens, father and son, and a non-member, Henry Santens, a brother of Raymond Santens. Henry Santens had been charged with murder, the charge growing out of the strike in the Southern San Joaquin Valley cotton fields. (Henry Santens was subsequently acquitted.) Subsequently John Santens (an old man) and Raymond Santens, his son, were expelled by the S.E.C., without the formality of a trial, and without even having the case referred to a Grievance Committee. Originally Ruiz had favored letting them resign, but changed his opinion later. The S.E.C. considered that John and Raymond Santens had been guilty of supporting Henry Santens, under indictment for murder, though what really seems to have been back in the minds of the N.E.C. members was the failure of John and Raymond Santens to repudiate Henry Santens. As to this,

Raymond Santens pleaded (in a letter to Ruiz) that he had the good will of the strikers, who were picking cotton for him, and he added:

"Comrade, the only hope in life I have is the S.L.P., and considering everything I can't lose all my friends and go back on my brother now. And if by the stand I'm taking I'm not worthy of a true S.L.P. member please let me resign. Please don't expel me through the WEEKLY PEOPLE."

P. F. Schnur, who knew the Santens, had previously written the S.E.C. (in part) as follows:

"This much I know . . . neither Raymond Santens nor his old father is capable of expressing what he means on paper. For that reason I believe it best to give them plenty of opportunity to make their position clear. The boy, Henry, who is mixed up in the trouble, is no good and our Comrades Santens have very little to do with him. They have tried to drill some sense into him, but admitted to us that he was hopeless."

Instead of following Schnur's advice, the S.E.C. summarily expelled John and Raymond Santens, as stated, without formal charges, trial or Grievance Committee. In view of the unusual situation the N.E.C. Sub-Committee did not press the matter of irregularity (although it called the attention of the S.E.C. to its mistake), feeling that on the whole it was best to let the matter rest. For the same reason the Sub-Committee also felt that it was not advisable to publish the expulsion notice in the WEEKLY PEOPLE since conceivably it might

be seized upon by the prosecution in its effort to convict H. Santens of murder. (It should be noted here that at that time the N.E.C. Sub-Committee and the National Secretary were under the erroneous impression that the constitution did not make it mandatory to publish expulsion notices.) The non-publication of these expulsions furnished the starting point for a series of letters from the S.E.C. (written by Ruiz, of course) which in all essential respects were similar to the flood of letters that were received later during the year. The S.E.C. did not argue for publication on the ground that the constitution made that mandatory, since the S.E.C. members and Ruiz knew nothing about the clause at the time. Its reasons were as irrational and fantastic as the reasons advanced through Ruiz in connection with the trouble which later developed in California. The N.E.C. Sub-Committee endeavored to show the S.E.C. the illogical nature of the arguments it advanced, but without much success, if any. Incidentally, it is not without interest to note the spirit in which the old Santens accepted the decision of the S.E.C. The following letter was written by John Santens to Ruiz on November 10, 1933:

"Dear Comrade:

"You expel me from the Socialist Labor Party; if you have good cause I love you for it.

"Yours for the Revolution,

"John D. Santens."

Despite the Knipperdoling attitude of Ruiz and the S.E.C., he found it possible to write the following humane and wholly sympathetic note to the old man:

"Your letter deeply impressed me; your attitude entitles you to the respect and admiration of our members. May you live many more years and may you fully enjoy the fruits of the Revolution which you so ardently desire.

"Very sincerely yours,
"A. J. Ruiz.
"Secretary."

If Ruiz was not the illogical and irrational person we now know him to be, he should have realized that one entitled to "the respect and admiration of our members" should not have been expelled in the first place. Expulsion from the Party (if justified) is obviously incompatible with respect and admiration by the membership for the one expelled.

However, it was in this atmosphere that the correspondence was carried on between the S.E.C. and the National Office re the non-publication of the expulsion notice. And although Ruiz wrote the above note to old Santens on November 10, 1933, it was possible for him (and the S.E.C.) to argue nearly one and a half years later that the expulsion notice should be published. Finally, in the hope of definitely closing this protracted discussion, the National Secretary wrote a letter from which the following is quoted, and which was subsequently endorsed by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee:

"In reply to your letter of February 28 I wish to state:

"1. The reasons which prompted the N.E.C. Sub-Committee not to publish the expulsion notices were briefly given in the letters written you under dates of February 13 and 27, 1934.

"2. The N. E. C. Sub-Committee justified its continued refusal to publish the expulsion notices mainly on the ground that (a) Raymond Santens apparently did not know at the time that he was joining a Vigilantes Committee (see his letter to you, October 30, 1933), and (inferring this from his letter to you) that if he were to have withdrawn from the committee, this would be interpreted as a repudiation of his brother, and might have increased the chances of his brother's being found guilty of murder; and (b), that there is no evidence, direct or indirect, that John Santens was guilty of the charges on which he was expelled, the S.E.C., in his case, acting entirely on assumptions. (See your letter to J. Santens, November 10, and to me, November 17); further, (c) the Sub-Committee reasonably assumed that Comrade Paul F. Nehnur, who evidently knew the Santens quite well, was correct in his appraisal of John and Raymond Santens, expressed in the letter you received from him on October 23, 1933, and from which you quoted the following: 'This much I know, and Herman will bear me out in it, neither Raymond Santens nor his old father is capable of expressing what he means on paper.' And, finally, (d) that at this time it would conspicuously, and to no good purpose, call attention to the non-appearance of the expulsion notice at the time of expulsion.

"3. The fact that no formal charges were filed; that no opportunity was provided the accused to submit a proper defense; that, accordingly, no proper, constitutional basis existed for expelling these members in the first place—these

facts complicated still further an already complicated situation. Though we may be morally certain of the guilt of a person, more than moral certainty is needed to expel, especially if, at the time, expulsion might conceivably have affected adversely, in whatever degree, large or small, the very life of a person to whom the two accused members were attached by the strongest bonds of human sympathy and sentiment.

"In consideration of all these circumstances the N.E.C. Sub-Committee felt, and still definitely feels, that to have published the expulsion notices would have been unjustified, especially since at the time the life of a man was at stake, who, under the law, was presumed innocent until proven guilty. (As a matter of fact, he was acquitted though, again, morally he may have been and, as far as we understand the situation here, certainly was morally guilty.) Moreover, there is no constitutional provision making it mandatory to publish expulsion notices in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, it being entirely a matter of executive judgment and discretion whether such notices should be published or not."

To this letter the S.E.C. replied on April 10 in terms which prompted the National Secretary to send the following reply:

"April 13, 1935.
"State Executive Committee, Calif.,
"Socialist Labor Party,
"Mr. A. J. Ruiz, Secretary.
"Dear Comrades:

"The statement of your committee on the matters of the Santens' expulsions, and related matters, dated April 10, has been received

and contents carefully noted. It will be submitted to the N.E.C. Sub-Committee at its next regular meeting. Pending further action, if any, by the Sub-Committee, please note the following:

"1. Since the S.E.C. agrees that 'to publish these [expulsion] notices at this time would obviously be poor policy,' and since, contrary to the assumption of the S.E.C., there is no principle involved, it being solely a question of policy, a continuation of this discussion would seem to be utterly futile, and a waste of time and energy. The Sub-Committee has noted the fact of the State Committee's disagreement with its decision in this matter; the Sub-Committee has ruled that the S.E.C. is wrong, and that should have ended the discussion.

"2. Unquestionably, traditional practices, and precedents established, carry weight, but they do not assume the force of constitutional law. Hence, in the final analysis, all questions not definitely covered by the Party's constitution, become matters subject to executive judgment. This is so self-evident as to require no further elaboration.

"3. Your statement that the 'S.E.C. still does not understand why the N.E.C. Sub-Committee should concern itself with the individual Henry Santens....' is unwarranted and improper, in view of the emphatic statement made in the letter written you under date of April 9, 1934. I quote:

"Our concern has been exclusively* for the father and brother of the

"individual" who was indicted for murder. If Henry Santens had been entirely alone in this matter, I think I can say, without fear of contradiction, that the N.E.C. Sub-Committee would not have given the slightest consideration to his case (assuming that he had been a member), but would have published an expulsion notice (assuming that he had then been expelled), without regard to the effect that such expulsion notice might have upon him.

"May I, on behalf of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, repeat, with as much patience and courtesy as I can muster, that the Sub-Committee has at no time been concerned about the individual Henry Santens. It has merely assumed a human and humane attitude in a matter which involved no principle, but the question as to whether or not expulsion notices should be published.

"4. The N.E.C. Sub-Committee may have been in error in supposing that the publishing of the expulsion notices might have influenced the verdict yet to be rendered. However, that is how the committee felt at the time, and questions of sentiment, or 'doubts' that should be resolved in favor of 'the working class and the Socialist Labor Party' had nothing whatever to do with the attitude of the committee at the time.

"5. To expect a father to be totally unconcerned about a son whose life is at stake, would be to expect the utterly unreasonable and inhuman, and for the Sub-Committee to have ignored this circumstance would have been unreasonable, especially since not by the wildest stretch of the imagination the fate of the revolution, or the welfare of the working class, could be said to hang in the

balance as far as concerned the Sub-Committee's failure to publish the expulsion notices. It is, indeed, conceivable that a father might have to face the alternative of supporting a son (whose life was in jeopardy), or the revolution, the success of which might depend upon, or be affected by the father's decision as to whether to stand by the son or the cause of revolution. We all hope that every true S.L.P. man would be able to subdue his natural feelings and stand by the revolution, even if it meant the death of the son. But to argue that any such alternative existed in this case is to reduce a lofty principle to the level of the burlesque. The question that confronted the Sub-Committee was not: Will the failure to publish the expulsion notices place the revolutionary cause in jeopardy? The question was plainly and simply: May the publication of the expulsion notices in any degree aid in sending to his death a person whose old father and brother are members of the Party, and who naturally are vitally concerned about saving the life of the accused—even though they might otherwise hold him in contempt, as the S.E.C. argues they should do—as, indeed, the Sub-Committee fully agrees they should do. But to hold in contempt, and to be willing to aid, directly or indirectly, in the extinction of the life of this person, are certainly two entirely different matters.

"6. I must, in behalf of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, register objection to, and resentment at the State Committee's unwarranted observation, viz., 'Strictly speaking, however, even this admitted irregularity on the part of the S.E.C. should not

have constituted a reason for not publishing the notices....' At no time has the Sub-Committee argued that the 'admitted irregularity' of the S.E.C. constituted a reason for its original decision not to publish the expulsion notices. If you will refer to my letter of March 9 you will find that I distinctly stated that 'the N.E.C. Sub-Committee justifies its *continued* refusal to publish the expulsion notices' (on the ground of the 'admitted irregularity' of the S.E.C.). Surely, the word *continued* makes it perfectly plain that the Sub-Committee is not referring to the original decision, but with the present, that is, *renewed*, consideration as to whether or not the expulsion notices should be published. And, parenthetically, it might be observed that if the matter of publishing the expulsion notices were of such vital and far-reaching importance as argued by the S.E.C., then the question of lapsed time should have no effect whatever in deciding the question. If the extraordinary contentions of the S.E.C. were sustained, then the expulsion notices should be published, regardless of lapse of time.

"7. I quote the following paragraph from your statement:

"Parenthetically it might be stated here to keep the record clear, that these members were not expelled 'for supporting Henry Santens' (although that in itself would have been sufficient cause for expulsion), but because Raymond was a member of the Vigilantes and because John, the father, being a part owner with his son Raymond in the ranch, tacitly consented to having his interests defended by the Vigilantes.'

"In view of the 'admitted irregu-

*By "exclusively" is here meant to the exclusion of the non-member Henry Santens.

larity on the part of the S.E.C.' in expelling the two Santens, it is, to say the least, an extraordinary procedure to correct the Sub-Committee's reference to the reason for the expulsions, and to attempt to explain what were the reasons. Since no trial was held, since the constitutional guarantees of a full and untrammeled defense of the accused members were withheld by the S.E.C., and since it is only through a proper and fair trial that the facts can be established, how can the S.E.C. possibly know what *were* the reasons? State Secretary Comrade Ruiz may have conceived *this* to be the reason; this S.E.C. member may have conceived *that* to be the reason, and so on, but certainly there could have been no 'meeting of minds'—the only way in which collective judgment can be secured—since no proper trial (and that means, of course, no trial at all) was held. I submit that the Sub-Committee's guess, or inference, as to reasons, was as valid as may be that made by the members of the S.E.C.

"Incidentally, and in conclusion, the S.E.C. is correct in arguing that its attention should have been called to the 'admitted irregularity,' and the case should have been referred back for proper and correct action. That it was not done may be ascribed to an oversight.

"Unless the N.E.C. Sub-Committee should find cause for further action, or unless the S.E.C. should feel moved to acknowledge its error, I shall consider this case definitely closed.

"Fraternally yours,
"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

This letter was subsequently endorsed by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee.

On May 10, 1935, Ruiz wrote the National Secretary a letter in which he announced his discovery that the constitution made it mandatory upon the N.E.C. to publish all expulsions in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. To this the National Secretary replied under date of May 13 as follows:

"With respect to the question of publishing expulsions in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, I acknowledge, without any reservations, that the N.E.C. Sub-Committee and myself erred in asserting that this was not required by the constitution. The question had never, to my knowledge, come before the National Office before, since invariably all expulsions were printed in the WEEKLY PEOPLE as a matter of routine. When the matter of the Santens expulsion came before the committee in the spring of 1934. I looked carefully through the sections in the constitution dealing with expulsions, and also through the section headed Miscellaneous. It never occurred to me for a moment to look under the heading of National Executive Committee, and not having read these various subdivisions of Article V, Section 15, in recent times, I had quite forgotten about the particular clause. I offer this as an explanation, and not as an excuse. Strictly speaking, there was, of course, no excuse for not remembering this important clause in the Party's constitution. I shall ask the N.E.C. Sub-Committee at its next regular meeting formally to acknowledge its error and extend its regret to the California S.E.C. Of course, so far as

the National Office is concerned, this then, definitely closes the Santens incident, except that I am not quite sure now but that we ought to publish the expulsion notices even at this late date. The matter, however, will be given consideration by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, and whatever the Sub-Committee decides is the proper action this time will, of course, be done.

"For my own share in this regrettable error, I extend to the S.E.C. and yourself my sincere regret."

This was followed by the following letter ordered sent by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee to the California S.E.C.:

"May 24, 1935.

"Mr. A. J. Ruiz,
"California S.E.C.,
"Berkeley, Calif.

Re: Santens Expulsion Notices.
"Dear Comrade Ruiz:

"I placed before the N.E.C. Sub-Committee the recent correspondence I have had with you with respect to the non-publication of the Santens expulsions. In view of the fact that the constitution does provide that all expulsions must be published in the Party's official organ, the N.E.C. Sub-Committee reversed its position on this question as heretofore expressed through the letters addressed to the State Committee, and extends to the California S.E.C. its regrets. As previously explained, the erroneous conception of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee and the National Secretary was caused by the fact that the clause referring to the publication of expulsions in the WEEKLY PEOPLE is listed under the heading of National Executive Committee, whereas the

National Secretary checked up the matter in the articles of the constitution where it was reasonable to expect such provisions to be found, namely, in connection with expulsions and appeals, and under 'Miscellaneous.' Incidentally, the matter will come before the National Convention next year with a view of having this matter further clarified, and the clause relating to publishing expulsion notices placed under the proper head in the constitution.

"The N.E.C. Sub-Committee further decided that in view of the great lapse of time it would not be necessary or desirable to publish the expulsion notices now.

"By instruction of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, I remain

"Fraternally yours,
"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

This closed that particular incident. It has been dealt with here in some detail chiefly to show the early indications of potential trouble with Ruiz; and partly in order to call attention to what we believe to be an incongruity in the Party's constitution, already dealt with under the head of "Constitutional Amendments." The incident illustrates, we believe, the need of such discretionary judgment as is suggested in the amendment proposed.

*

The practically unanimous vote in favor of Schnur's removal is, in reality, a referendum vote by the membership on the California disruption. While it certainly would have been preferable if the points involved could have come before the convention in an orderly manner, and discussed here calmly and without ex-

citement, the fact that it became necessary to go to the trouble and expense of submitting the question to the membership earlier is not without its compensating feature. We shall, at any rate, have more time now at the convention to discuss other important questions relating to the campaign and the Party's welfare in general. Schnur (against whom Comrade Hass has now preferred charges) may at this stage serve chiefly "to point a moral, or adorn a tale." "Tis an ill wind that bloweth no man good, is an old saying, the truth of which is illustrated in this case. The American abolitionist, Wendell Phillips, discovered, and proclaimed the discovery, that "God gives us great scoundrels for texts to anti-slavery sermons." Well may we apply that saying to the disruption in California. Unfortunate as are these disruptive outbreaks, they, incidentally, serve as a sort of examination test of the membership. Under the strong pressure exerted those who are weak or unfit quickly prove themselves such. Take a man like Robineau: In some respects a gifted fellow, but an incurable trouble-maker, loose, reckless and possessing many of the characteristics one associates with slum proletarianism. To what extent he might have been cured of such defects in a more favorable environment is a matter for speculation. His reckless and unprincipled character is fully illustrated in the fake report he sent in of the Quinn meeting that never was held. How degrading such conduct is has already been stressed in the Schnur removal document. The sense of shame and humiliation that an S.L.P. man experiences at the thought that such a fake

report was published in the WEEKLY PEOPLE is deepened when we read a statement like this from the pen of De Leon: "The difference lies in this: the *Daily People* does not fake news; the Kangaroos [S.P.] papers do. A report [i.e., announcement] in the *Daily People* of a Party meeting [to be held] may happen to be wrong, the speaker having unexpectedly been prevented from appearing, disappointing a big crowd that had gathered to hear him, and timely notice of the failure not having been sent to this office. But the *Daily People* will never give glowing reports of meetings that never took place...." It took a Robineau to give the lie to De Leon's proud boast to his, Robineau's, everlasting shame, and our humiliation.—Or take an individual like Ruiz: While for a couple of years doubts have been entertained with respect to his understanding of the revolutionary movement, he was, at the same time, considered an amiable sort of person, and not without ability to handle routine matters efficiently. Someone puts a secretarial bee in his bonnet, and later he finds himself catapulted into intellectual combat, and, finding his knowledge deficient, or intellectual powers unequal to the task, reveals himself as the sort of person we now know him to be. It is possible that he was unable to realize the fatuousness of the contentions he made again and again in his letters to the National Office. It is possible that he even gloried in his folly. Which brings to mind what the historian Macaulay said of James Boswell, the biographer of Samuel Johnson: "Everything which another man would have hidden —

everything, the publication of which would have made another man hang himself, was matter of gay and clamorous exultation to his weak and diseased mind." His dull, interminable and involved letters illustrate De Leon's observations about certain people who make "long, protracted, painful effort, not to say what you have in mind, but to conceal it." His exasperating obtuseness or obstinacy reminds us of another observation by De Leon: "The very best of dialectics can accomplish nothing against narrow obstinacy; and equally ineffective will it be found against interests that keep themselves secret and set forth arguments only for a blind."

The usual charge of "bossism" was bound to come from one of that caliber. As revealed by Comrade Larsen of Section Klamath Falls, in the statement submitted to his Section, Ruiz, while still State Secretary, spoke to him about the National Secretary's alleged "domination over the N.E.C. Sub-Committee." The idea may have been to scare the visiting member with the "wolf cry" of bossism. But there is no evidence that his corrupt insinuation struck a responsive chord—as it could only have struck in a weak person. For, as De Leon declared, "the integrity of purpose and soundness of reasoning on the part of an organization are lost upon people who can be scared away by the 'wolf cry' of 'De Leonism,' 'Bossism,' etc. Such people are weaklings. No use trying to 'fetch them over.' A revolutionary organization must be constructed of sterner stuff."

Just how such "domination" over the Sub-Committee is exercised, or

applied by the National Secretary, is never made clear. These slanders cannot mean that one man can physically hold eleven at bay. And since not one of the Sub-Committee members is in the pay of the Party, these fools cannot possibly attribute the alleged servility on the part of the Sub-Committee members to "job consciousness." The disrupters do not seem to imply that the National Secretary casts a hypnotic spell over the Sub-Committee and other members. One wonders what precisely these blithering idiots mean by their stated or implied charge of bossism. Did De Leon, perchance, give a hint as to the answer when he said:

"With a certain class of people, if you humbly knuckle down to their views and pronounce them the sum and substance of wisdom, then THEY are 'democratic'; if, however, you do not accept their views, especially if you be rash enough to prove them in error, then YOU are a 'Pope'!"

And the more you prove them in error, De Leon added on another occasion, the more violently angry such people become. Or they may be of that other variety who exult in being criticized because it tickles their silly egos. There is ground for supposing that the man Ruiz belongs in that category. For not so long ago (on February 18, 1936, to be exact) a letter was received by the National Secretary from the precious fellow in which he complained because his expulsion had not been published in the WEEKLY PEOPLE! To see his name once again printed in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, just once, even under the